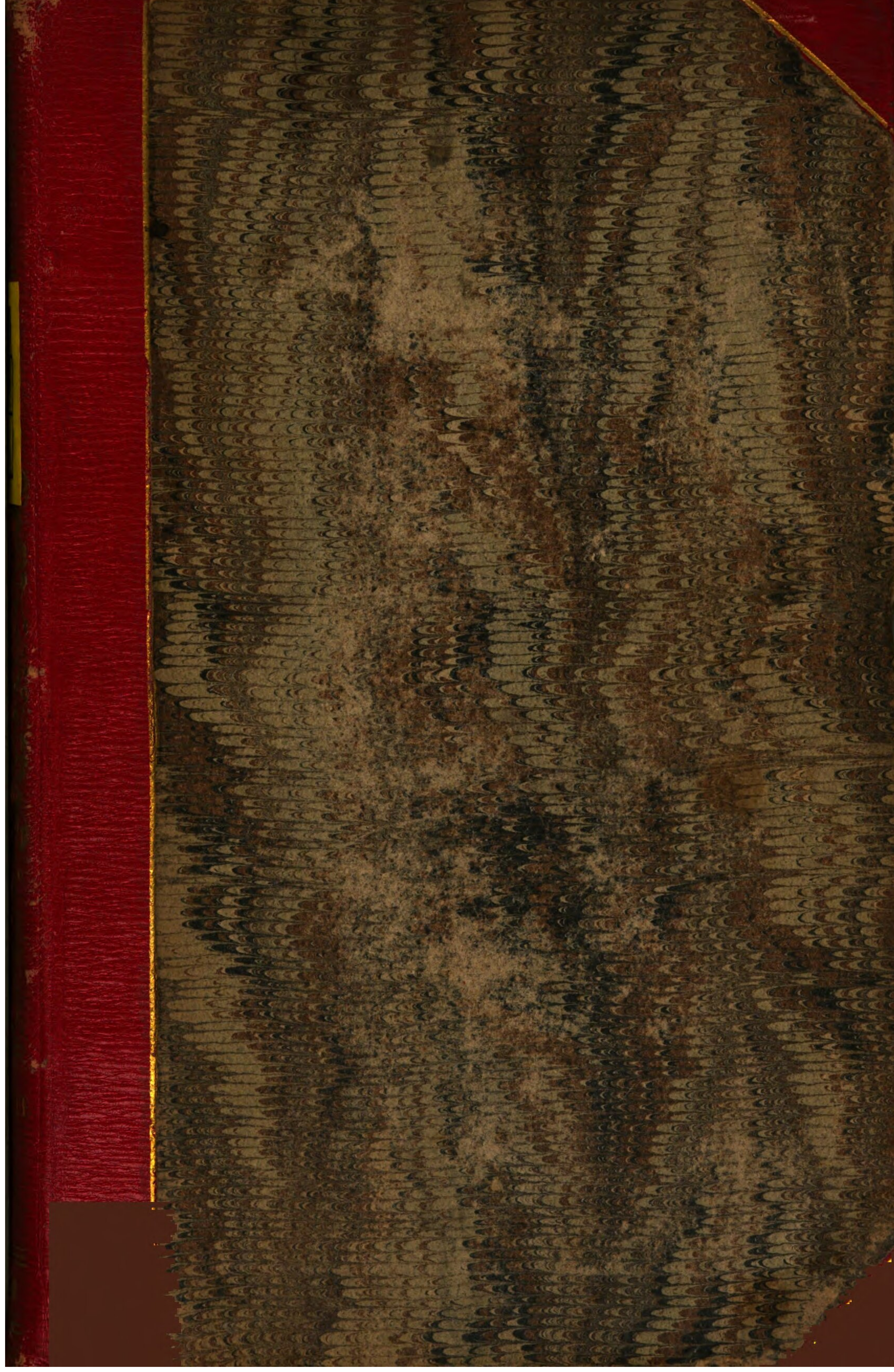




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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE CHURCH AND COURT
OF
ROME:

ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY UNDER CONSTANTINE

THE PRESENT TIME

REV. H. C. O'DONOGHUE, A.M.

I have read the History of the Roman Catholic Church to be
the subject of the present work, and find it to be a most
interesting and valuable work, and one which will
be of great service to the reader, and to the cause of
truth and justice, and to the cause of the oppressed
and the poor, and to the cause of the human race.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

LONDON: BARNES, BROWN AND BARNES.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE CHURCH AND COURT
OF
ROME:

FROM THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY UNDER CONSTANTINE,
TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

BY THE
REV. H. C. O'DONNOGHUE, A. M.

“ I must speak decidedly. I believe the Religion of the Roman Catholics to be the Antichrist of Scripture, and that if I cease to oppose it, I do a great wickedness, and sin against God. I may repent of many things; but when it shall please God that my accountable spirit shall be disembodied, and return to my Maker, I shall then look back with joy to my humble labours, in support of pure, primitive, reformed Christianity.”

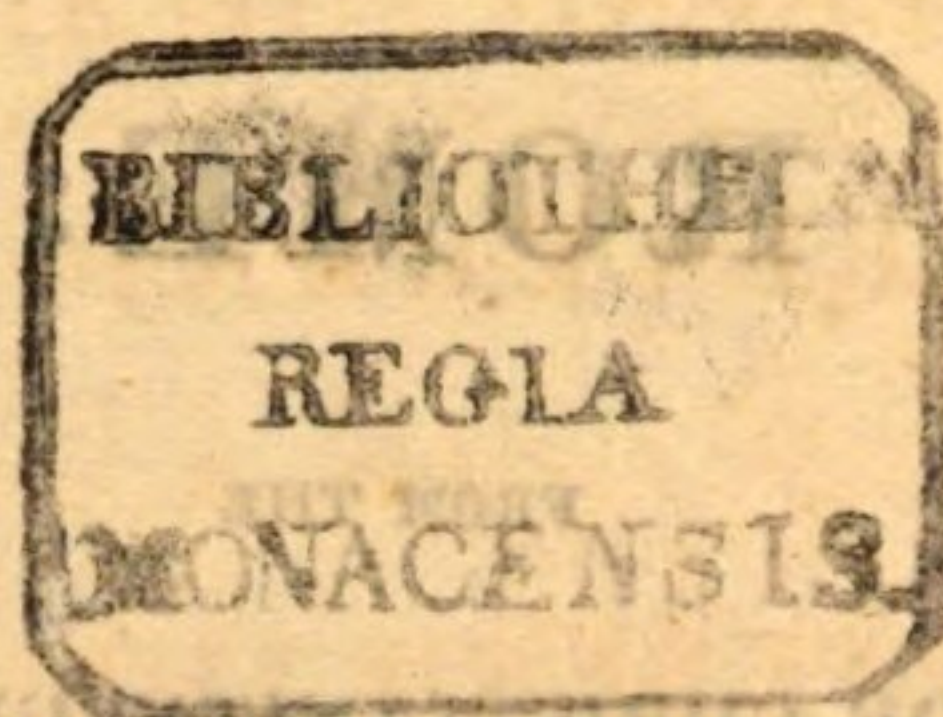
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VOL. I.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN.

1830.

THE
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LONDON:
PLUMMER AND BREWIS, PRINTERS, LOVE LANE, LITTLE EASTCHEAP.

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TO THE
MOST REVEREND THE ARCHBISHOPS,
THE RIGHT REVEREND THE BISHOPS,
AND
THE REVEREND THE CLERGY,

OF
The United Churches of England and Ireland,

THESE VOLUMES,

ILLUSTRATING
THE RIGHT AND THE NECESSITY OF THEIR CONTINUED SEPARATION
FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME,

BY AN IMPARTIAL DETAIL OF HER HISTORY,
AND A CANDID DISCLOSURE OF HER CORRUPTIONS,

ARE,
WITH MUCH RESPECT, AND ANXIOUS SOLICITUDE,

INSCRIBED BY
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26, DEVONSHIRE STREET, QUEEN SQUARE.

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PREFACE.

THERE is nothing, says an able writer, in the history of the whole world, more extraordinary than the various events connected with the name and the territory of Rome. The first studies of our youth acquaint us with the valiant deeds and self-devotion of Roman heroes and patriots, the magic influence of Roman eloquence, the splendid victories of Roman armies, the profound policy of Roman senates, and the almost boundless dominion of Roman Emperors: and such is their impression that every thing patient in endurance, mighty in operation, brilliant in success, and wise in counsel, becomes, in our feelings, identified with that which is Roman. Yet all these things are far outdone by the modern history of the Eternal City; whose ancient records contain nothing equal to the policy, the stratagems, the achievements, and the unconquerable perseverance by which the Popes have been gradually elevated to ecclesiastical sovereignty, and temporal dominion; so that the champions of the Church have sur-

passed the heroes of the Republic; the subtilty of the Conclave has exceeded, in depth and refinement, that of the Senate; the thunder of the Vatican has rolled more terrible than that of the Capitol; and the tyranny and oppression of the Pontiffs have been more despotic and intense than that of the proudest of the Cæsars.

Ancient Rome was avowedly a military power; victory, her ambition; and the subjugation of all other nations, her acknowledged object: her career was one of brilliant war, rapid conquest, and successful negotiation; by these she sought and she obtained an empire more extensive and more enduring, than the proudest monarch had ever ruled before. Although the mind may find it difficult to accompany a career of victory so rapid, and an extent of conquest so vast, it is not difficult to assign the cause of the Roman triumphs. A politic and ambitious government, a free and an enlightened people, brave and well disciplined armies, skilful and experienced generals, could not fail to vanquish and subdue less favoured nations. All this was perfectly natural.

Had the profession of Christianity retained its native simplicity and purity, there would have been nothing wonderful in its triumph and holy influence over the hearts and passions of mankind. Had the spirit, as well as the mantle, of the Apostles fallen on their successors, the victory of truth over error could be matter of no surprise: or, had the Roman Pontiffs avowed the principles and practices of earthly

monarchs, and sought to enforce their creed and extend their empire by the weapons of a carnal warfare, their success would not have been without example. But that the professors and pastors of a religion which inculcates meekness, humility, forbearance, self-denial, and holiness, should, by a course of conduct the very reverse of all these virtues, succeed, on the plea of divine authority, in establishing a dominion over the minds and consciences of mankind, of a nature and extent before unknown, is one of those mysteries of God's permissive providence which man's wisdom cannot fathom nor understand.* To trample on the liberties of the world—

* The following Extract from an old author, 'points out in a manner sufficiently accurate, by what methods Popery originally secured, and, for a long period, maintained that supremacy and dominion over the minds, opinions, and feelings of mankind, by which they have been so deeply enslaved.

“ This being the main ground of their policy ; and the general means to build and establish it in the minds of all men ; the particular ways they hold to ravish affections, and to fit each humour (which, their jurisdiction and power being but persuasive and voluntary, they principally regard,) are well nigh infinite ; there being not any thing sacred or profane, no virtue nor vice almost, no things of how contrary condition soever, which they make not in some sort to serve that turn ; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite find what to feed on. Whatsoever either wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers of the world, what honour with the ambitious ; what obedience with the humble ; what great employment with stirring and met-tled spirits, what perpetual quiet with heavy and restive bodies ; what content the pleasant nature can take in pastimes and jollity ; what contrariwise the austere mind in discipline and rigour ; what love either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousness in the dissolute ; what allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of state to possess the practick dispositions, what with the hopeful prerogative of reward can work ; what errors, doubts, and dangers with the fearful, what change of vows with the rash, of estate with the inconstant ; what pardons with the faulty, or supplies with the defective, what miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantastical, what gorgeousness of shews with the vulgar and simple, what multitude of ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant ; what prayer with the devout, what with the charitable works of piety ; what rules of higher perfec-

to annihilate every social right—to violate the independence of nations—to bow the necks of kings—to degrade the temporal powers—to obliterate moral rectitude and religious

tion with elevated affections, what dispensing with breach of all rules with men of lawless conditions; in sum, what thing soever can prevail with any man either for himself to pursue, or at least wise to love, reverence, or honour in another; (for even therein all man's nature receiveth great satisfaction) the same is found with them, not as in other places of the world, by casualty blended without order, and of necessity, but sorted in great part into several professions, countenanced with reputation, honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with provisions, and yearly maintenance, and either (as the better things) advanced with expectation of reward, or borne with, how bad soever, with sweet and silent permission. What pomp, what riot, to that of their Cardinals? what severity of life comparable to their Hermits and Capuchins? who wealthier than their Prelates? who poorer by vow and profession than their Mendicants? On the one side of the street a Cloister of Virgins, on the other, a Sty of Courtezans with public toleration; this day all in masks, with all looseness and foolery; to-morrow all in processions, whipping themselves till the blood follow; on one door an excommunication, throwing to Hell all transgressors: on another a Jubilee, a full discharge from all transgressions. Who learned in all kind of sciences than their Jesuits? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary Mass-Priests? What Prince so able to prefer his Servants and followers as the Pope, and in so great multitude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his Enemies? What pride equal unto his, making Kings kiss his Pantaffe? What humility greater than his, shriving himself daily on his knees to an ordinary Priest? Who difficulter in despatch of Causes to the greatest? Who easier in giving audience to the meanest? Where greater rigour in the World in acting the observation of the Church Laws; where less or conscience of the Commandments of God? To take flesh on a Friday, where suspicion might fasten, were a matter for the Inquisition; whereas, on the other side, the Sunday is one of their greatest market days. To conclude: never State, never Government in the World so strangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertain the several humours of all men, and to work what kind of effects soever they shall desire; where rigour and remissness, cruelty and lenity, are so combined, that, with neglect of the Church, to stir aught is a Sin unpardonable; whereas with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, no law almost of God or Nature so sacred, which, one way or other, they find not means to dispense with, or at leastwise permit the breach of by connivance and without disturbance.

Europæ Speculum, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western parts of the World. London, 1632, by Sir Edwin Sandys.

feeling—to make void the law of God by their tradition, and to consign the young and the aged, the helpless and the unoffending—the matron and the virgin—the pious and the learned, to the pains of death and the sufferings of martyrdom, in the name and under the professed authority of the meek and lowly Jesus, have ever been the grand, the consistent, the unvarying objects of the Papal power. In what manner these bold and daring crimes were originally planned, gradually avowed, and successively perpetrated, these pages are intended to disclose.

During the middle ages the history of Papal Rome is that of the European world: plunging into the intrigues, the machinations, the artifices, the cunning, the subtleties of secular politics, she merged her spiritual character in that of an earthly monarch; and by pursuing the path of war, became respectable among the nations as a military power; conquest strengthened her dominion, and the keys of heaven, which she claimed as her sole deposit, ultimately augmented her influence and her renown

“Above all Greek, above all Roman fame.”

Happy had it been for the world, and for her own stability and credit, had she enjoyed her supremacy with moderation, and employed her power in the spirit of Him whose kingdom is not of this world; but the history of every European Government is, through successive ages, nothing but the

register of Papal fraud, duplicity, insincerity, artifice, tyranny, and murder. These, however painful and disgusting, the Historian must faithfully record.

This History embraces **THREE** periods in the existence of the Church of Rome, each distinctly marked by its own peculiarities and events.

The **FIRST**, which may be characterized as the period of its **RISE**, reaches from the establishment of Christianity, under Constantine, down to the establishment of the Papal power, A. D. 606, when Boniface III. assumed the title of Universal Bishop; or 756, when Pepin, King of France, invested Stephen II. with the temporal dominion of Rome and the neighbouring territories, upon the ceasing of the Exarchate of Ravenna.

The **SECOND** period, which is that of its **SUPREMACY**, embraces the interval from the close of the first down to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the overgrown arrogance of Boniface VIII. provoked Philip the Fair successfully to rebel against the spiritual Autocrat; after which, the removal of the Papal residence to Avignon, tended still further to impair the authority of the Roman See.

The **THIRD** period, commencing with the fourteenth century, refers to the **DECLINE** of this tremendous power, which, weakened by the Reformation, has since then been gradually

yielding to the influence of divine truth, and to the general diffusion of knowledge among the nations of the earth.

The limits to which the Author has restricted himself forbid, of necessity, much detail on each Pontificate; yet, it is presumed, that few matters of real importance are wholly omitted; and none, it is hoped, will be found misrepresented. The labour, it is confessed, has been more painful than difficult to trace the History of the Roman Church through so many ages of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition; for her course is too correctly marked out, by the sufferings and the blood of the Saints. If the historian Milner felt it difficult to discover the existence and the history of the Church of Christ, amid the gloom of the worse than Egyptian darkness of the middle ages, yet each successful effort rewarded his diligence and cheered his progress; as the Oases of the Desert, even in distant perspective, operate beneficially on the zeal and energy of the fainting traveller. Here, however, all is a barren waste and a cheerless desert, over which the eye wanders in hopeless disappointment, and on which the mind dwells unsustained by one pleasing reflection, or reviving anticipation.

It is presumed that recent circumstances have, in no degree, deprived the history of the Papal power of its interest or importance. If, by political concessions, the differences between Protestants and Papists have lost something of their former bitterness and rancour, let it be remembered that the strength,

the reality, and the validity of those differences themselves have not thereby been lessened or affected. Truth is unchangeable in itself; and Popery, in its claim to infallibility, cannot profit by experience; nor accommodate itself to the progress of the human mind in its advance to increased knowledge, and more perfect conformity to the will of God. Far be it from us to minister to an angry, unchristian, unsocial feeling towards the members of the Church of Rome: we seek not in their history to find occasion for prolonging angry controversy or rancorous hostility; but, taught by the records of her ambition and her guilt, we shall not surely err if we earnestly invite her members to a consideration of their principles and her practice, whilst we more earnestly attach ourselves to that uncorrupted faith for which the witnesses of the truth have ever zealously contended, not counting their lives dear unto themselves.

As the Events narrated in the following pages cannot but be generally known to the readers of Ecclesiastical History, it may be sufficient to state, that the Authorities made use of, include the Works of Mosheim, Milner, Scott, Gibbon, Robertson, Claude, Roscoe, Burnett, Mill, Faber, Eustace, Fry, Blair, Grier, Southey, Middleton, White, Vaughan, Townsend, Father Paul, &c. &c. whose very words are most frequently interwoven with the body of the Narrative;—utility, not originality, being the Author's object.

The Chronological Table; and the Account of the General Councils, prefixed to Vol. I. will, it is presumed, be found useful, as matters of reference, in the course of perusing the History itself.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PREFACE.....	vii
Chronological Table of the Popes of Rome, and Account of the Eighteen General Councils.....	xv
CHAP. I. Introduction	1
II. Rise of the Papal Power..... A. D. 313— 498	3
III. Gregory the Great	498— 754 33
IV. Supremacy of the Roman Church	754— 900 75
V. Silvester II.	900 —1003 88
VI. Gregory VII.	1003—1099 100
VII. The First Crusade	116
VIII. State of the Monastic Orders	—1099 140
IX. Paschal III. Anselm	1100—1145 142
X. Second Crusade	1148—1179 151
XI. Of the Waldenses.....	165
XII. Third and Fourth Crusade	1179—1212 172
XIII. Crusade of the Children	—1212 192
XIV. Fifth Crusade.....	199
XV. Crusade against the Albigenses.....	1215— 204
XVI. Sixth Crusade; Inquisition, &c.....	1215—1294 212
XVII. State of the Roman Church in Faith and Morals	237
XVIII. Decline of the Papal Power. Wickliff ...	1294—1370 252
XIX. The Great Schism	1370—1415 267
XX. Martyrdom of Lord Cobham.....	290
XXI. Council of Basil, &c.	1431—1521 297

CONTENTS

PREFACE	1
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	1
GEN. INDEX	1
CHAP. I. Introduction	1
CHAP. II. The First Century	1
CHAP. III. The Second Century	1
CHAP. IV. The Third Century	1
CHAP. V. The Fourth Century	1
CHAP. VI. The Fifth Century	1
CHAP. VII. The Sixth Century	1
CHAP. VIII. The Seventh Century	1
CHAP. IX. The Eighth Century	1
CHAP. X. The Ninth Century	1
CHAP. XI. The Tenth Century	1
CHAP. XII. The Eleventh Century	1
CHAP. XIII. The Twelfth Century	1
CHAP. XIV. The Thirteenth Century	1
CHAP. XV. The Fourteenth Century	1
CHAP. XVI. The Fifteenth Century	1
CHAP. XVII. The Sixteenth Century	1
CHAP. XVIII. The Seventeenth Century	1
CHAP. XIX. The Eighteenth Century	1
CHAP. XX. The Nineteenth Century	1
CHAP. XXI. The Twentieth Century	1

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF THE
POPES OF ROME,
WITH THE PRINCIPAL
COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	EMPERORS OF ROME.												
	Linus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	So much doubt and confusion exists as to the earlier Bishops of Rome, that it is impossible to give the dates of their accession to the Episcopacy, or their deaths, with any accuracy. Linus is supposed to be mentioned in 2 Tim. iv. 21.
68	Anacletus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
69	Clement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
														First persecution of the Christians, A. D. 64.
78	Evaristus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Is honourably mentioned by St. Paul, Phil. iv. 3. He was the author of an epistle addressed to the Church at Corinth. Destruction of Jerusalem A. D. 70.
79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
88	Alexander	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Second persecution under Domitian, A. D. 94, in which Flavius Clemens, the Consul, and his niece, Flavia Domitilla, suffered death.
96	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
98	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
102	Sixtus I.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Third persecution under Trajan, A. D. 106, in which the venerable Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom.
117	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
127	Telesphorus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Iræneus informs us he was a Martyr. Some suppose him to have been Bishop only 4 years.
138	Hyginus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
150	Pius I.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
153	Anicetus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Difference betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches, respecting the celebration of Easter. Journey of Polycarp to Rome.
161	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
162	Soter, M.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fourth persecution under M. A. Antoninus, A. D. 163, in which Justin Martyr, and the venerable Polycarp, suffered, the latter by fire.
172	Eleutherius	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	The celebrated Epistle from the Martyrs of Lyons, brought by Iræneus to Rome.
180	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
185	Victor I.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
193	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Excommunicates all the Churches of Asia, for refusing to follow the Romish mode of keeping Easter. The rejection of his authority by the Eastern Church a convincing argument against Papal supremacy.

Severus, who defeats his rivals Niger and Albinus.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	EMPERORS OF ROME.
196	Zephyrinus	-
211	-	-
218	-	-
219	Callistus, M.	-
222	-	-
224	Urban I	-
231	Pontianus	-
235	Anterus, M.	-
236	Fabianus, M.	-
244	-	-
249	-	-
251	Cornelius	-
253	-	-
254	Lucius, M.	-
256	Stephen I.	-
258	Sixtus II. M.	-
259	Dionysius	-
262	-	-
268	-	-
270	Felix I. M.	-
275	Eutychianus	-
282	-	-
283	Caius Marcellinus	-
284	-	-
296	Marcellinus	-

Fifth persecution under Severus, A. D. 203, in which Iræneus, Bishop of Lyons, is cruelly put to death, as were Leonidas, the father of Origen, Serenus, two African ladies, and other females. Presided over the Church in a time of peace and tranquillity.

Was banished to Sardinia, where it is supposed he died. Sixth persecution under Maximinian, A. D. 236. Suffers Martyrdom. Seventh persecution under Decius, A. D. 250. On the death of Fabian the See of Rome is vacant for 16 months. Schism between him and Novatus. Eighth persecution under Gallus, A. D. 252. He was banished to Civita Vecchia, where he died. Was banished and died a Martyr. The African Bishops refuse obedience to the Roman See. Stephen's pride and affectation of superiority drew on him the censure of the most eminent Christians. Ninth persecution under Valerian, A. D. 258, when Sixtus suffered Martyrdom; as also Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and Laurentius, a Roman Deacon. Condemns the errors of Dionysius of Alexandria, and of Paul of Samosata.

Is said to have been a Martyr, of which the evidence is very doubtful. Was a native of Dalmatia, and related to the Emperor Dioclesian. Sacrificed to idols. Tenth persecution under Dioclesian, A. D. 303, which lasts ten years. The apostacy of this Pope is maintained by Catholic writers, and denied by many Protestants.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	EMPERORS OF ROME.			
304	Marcellus I.	-	-	-	Council of Elvira, held A. D. 305, prohibited the use of images. Marcellus is commended for his zeal in the maintenance of Church discipline, which drew upon him much trouble, and even bloodshed.
308	-	-	-	-	
309	Eusebius	-	-	-	
311	Melchades	-	-	-	Was banished to Sicily, by the artifices of Heraclius.
313	Sylvester	-	-	-	Eleventh persecution ends by an edict of Constantine, A. D. 313.
323	-	-	-	-	First General Council held at Nice, A. D. 325, by authority of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor.
335	Mark.	-	-	-	
336	Julius	-	-	-	Council of Sardica, A. D. 347, of which Hosius was President. This Council sanctioned appeals to the Roman See.
337	-	-	-	-	
352	Liberius	-	-	-	Schism between him and Felix, which lasts 10 years.
360	-	-	-	-	
363	-	-	-	-	Felix is acknowledged and even canonized by the modern Church of Rome, though guilty of perjury and a semi-Arian.
367	Damasus	-	-	-	Second General Council, held at Constantinople, A. D. 381, Schism between Damasus and Ursicinus. Bible translated into the Gothic language.
378	-	-	-	-	
384	Syricius	-	-	-	Was the first who forbade the marriage of the clergy.
395	-	-	-	-	
398	Anastasius I.	-	-	-	Vindicates Chrysostom. Rome is plundered by the Goths. Asserts the Supremacy of the Roman See, by Divine right. Condemns the marriage of the Clergy.
402	Innocent I.	-	-	-	
408	-	-	-	-	First approves, and subsequently condemns, the Pelagian Heresy. His pride and arrogance give general disgust. Schism between him and Eulalius. Boniface annuls the unjust decree of his predecessor relating to the Bishop of Arles.
417	Zosimus	-	-	-	
418	Boniface I.	-	-	-	Third General Council, held at Ephesus, A. D. 431. The African Bishops deny the right of appeal to Rome. St. Patrick converts the Irish.
423	Celestine I.	-	-	-	
425	-	-	-	-	
432	Sixtus III.	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	EASTERN EMPIRE.		WESTERN EMPIRE.		
440	Leo the Great	-	-	-	-	Fourth General Council, held at Chalcedon, A. D. 451.
450	-	-	-	-	-	Pronounces the Manicheans heretics, because they refused the Sacrament in both kinds. Preserves the City from the ravages of the barbarian Attila, which, however, was pillaged by the Vandal army.
455	-	-	-	-	Maximus.	
457	-	-	-	-	Majorian.	
461	Hilarius	-	-	-	Severus III.	Gratheus, Bishop of Antioch, introduces the invocation of Saints, and of the Virgin Mary.
467	Simplicius	-	-	-	Anthemius	
472	-	-	-	-	Olybrius.	
473	-	-	-	-	Glycerius.	
474	-	-	-	-	Nepos.	
475	-	-	-	-	Augustulus.	
483	Felix III.	-	-	-	-	Is excommunicated by Acacius, Bishop of Constanti-
491	-	-	-	-	-	nople.
492	Gelasius	-	-	-	-	Condemns the superstition which refused the wine in the Sacrament.
496	Anastasius II.	-	-	-	-	
498	Symmachus	-	-	-	-	Symmachus and Laurentius were elected to the Pontificate on the same day, by different parties. Symmachus appealing to the jus divinum, asserted his exemption from all temporal authority, being amenable to God alone.
514	Hormisdas.	-	-	-	-	
518	-	-	-	-	-	
523	John I.	-	-	-	-	Is committed to prison by Theodric, King of the Goths, where he dies.
526	Felix IV.	-	-	-	-	
527	-	-	-	-	-	
529	Boniface II.	-	-	-	-	Schism between him and Dioscorus.
531	John II.	-	-	-	-	
535	Agapetus I.	-	-	-	-	Schism between Sylverius and Vigilius.
536	Sylverius	-	-	-	-	Fifth General Council, held at Constantinople, A.D. 553.
540	Vigilius	-	-	-	-	Is reported to have murdered his predecessor, Vigilius.
555	Pelagius I.	-	-	-	-	
558	John III.	-	-	-	-	Mahomet preaches Islamism, A. D. 569.
565	-	-	-	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	-	
	Justin II.	-	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	EASTERN EMPIRE.				
757	Paul I.	-	-	-	-	Brother to the last Pope. Is elected, to the exclusion both of Constantine and Philip, who had previously been elected. Seventh General Council held at Nice, A.D. 787. Adrian confers the right of election to the See of Rome on Charlemagne and his successors.
767	Stephen IV.	-	-	-	-	
772	Adrian I.	-	-	-	-	
775	-	-	-	-	-	
780	-	-	-	-	-	
		Leo. IV.				
		Constantine VI. and Irene.				
			KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
795	Leo III.	-	-	Charlemagne	Charlemagne	Introduces the canonization of Saints. Paulinus, Bishop of Aquilia, an eminent reformer, died 804 Does homage to the Emperor Louis.
814	-	-	-	Louis I.	Louis I.	
816	Stephen V.	-	-	-	-	
817	Paschal I.	-	-	-	-	
820	Engene II.	-	-	-	-	
824	Valentine	-	-	-	-	
827	Gregory IV.	-	-	-	-	The Senate and people of Rome practice, for the first time, the ceremony of saluting the foot of the reigning Pope.
836	-	-	-	-	-	
843	Sergius II.	-	-	Charles the Bald	Louis II.	
		Ethelwolf.				
847	Leo IV.	-	-	-	-	Doctrine of Transubstantiation first taught by Pascasius Radbert. Sergius ordains, that 72 witnesses were necessary to prove a crime against a Bishop. The existence of her Holiness has been denied; but the number and authenticity of the records which attest it, remove all doubt about the matter. Among the earliest writers who have left evidence of the fact, are Æneas Silvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. Platina, and other Papal Secretaries, admit the truth of the story; nor is there any circumstance better attested in history, than that she gave the world a <i>popeling</i> in the very streets of Rome.
854	Pope Joan	-	-	-	-	
855	Benedict III.	-	-	-	-	Obliges the Emperor Louis II. to perform the functions of groom, and to hold the bridle of his horse while he was dismounting.
857	-	-	-	-	-	
858	Nicholas I.	-	-	-	-	
860	-	-	-	-	-	
866	-	-	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
868	Adrian II.	-	-	-	Eighth General Council held at Constantinople, A.D. 870.
872	-	-	-	-	
873	John VIII.	-	-	-	Confers the Imperial Crown on Charles the Bald.
876	-	-	-	-	Schism of the Greeks, who separate from the Roman Church, A. D. 880.
	-	-	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	
877	-	-	-	-	
879	-	-	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	
883	Martin I.	-	-	-	
884	Adrian III.	-	-	-	
885	Stephen VI.	-	-	-	
887	-	-	-	-	
888	-	-	-	-	
891	Formosus	-	-	-	Schism between Formosus and Sergius.
897	Stephen VII.	-	-	-	Digs up the body of Formosus, invests it with the Pontifical habits, then degrades it, and casts it into the Tiber.
898	-	-	-	-	
899	-	-	-	-	
901	Rom. Formosus	-	-	-	
	John IX.	-	-	-	
905	Benedict IV.	-	-	-	
906	Leo V.	-	-	-	Schism between Leo, Sergius, and Christopher.
	Christopher.	-	-	-	
907	Sergius III.	-	-	-	
910	Anastassius III.	-	-	-	
911	-	-	-	-	
912	Lando.	-	-	-	
914	John X.	-	-	-	
919	-	-	-	-	
922	-	-	-	-	
923	-	-	-	-	
925	-	-	-	-	
928	Leo VI.	-	-	-	
929	Stephen VIII.	-	-	-	
931	John XI.	-	-	-	The bastard son of Pope Sergius; is made Pope at the age of 20.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
936	Leo VII.	-	-	-	Ascended the Papal Chair at the early age of 16. Baronius calls him a <i>very monster</i>, convicted as he was of sacrilege, blasphemy, adultery, and murder. Crowns Otho, by whom he is degraded. There exists a great and bloody schism between these two Popes. Platina could not determine which was the right Pope. Baronius makes Benedict the Pope, and Leo the Anti-Pope. Onuphrius is of a contrary opinion. Both died almost at the same time.
940	Stephen IX.	-	Louis IV.	Otho the Great.	
941	-	Edmund.	-	-	
943	Martin II.	-	-	-	
946	Agapetus II.	Edred.	-	-	
954	-	-	Lotharius.	-	Is deposed and banished for his crimes.
955	-	Edwy.	-	-	
956	John XII.	-	-	-	
959	-	Edgar.	-	-	
965	Benedict V.	-	-	-	
966	Leo VIII.	-	-	-	Is deposed and banished for his crimes.
973	John XIII. Domnus II.	-	-	Otho II.	
974	Benedict VI. Boniface VII. Benedict VII.	-	-	-	
975	-	Edward the Martyr.	-	-	
978	-	Ethelred II.	-	-	
983	-	-	-	Otho III.	Considered as a sorcerer by his contemporaries, on account of his various and extraordinary acquirements. Is chosen in opposition to Gregory V.
984	John XIV.	-	-	-	
985	John XV.	-	-	-	
986	John XVI.	-	Louis V. Hugh Capet.	-	
987	-	-	-	-	
996	Gregory V.	-	Robert the Pious.	-	Considered as a sorcerer by his contemporaries, on account of his various and extraordinary acquirements. Is chosen in opposition to Gregory V.
997	-	-	-	-	
999	Sylvester II.	-	-	Henry the Saint.	
1002	-	-	-	-	
1003	John XVII. John XVIII.	-	-	-	
1009	Sergius IV.	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1012	Benedict VIII.	-	-	-	Some Canons of Orleans were burned in the year 1017, being the first who suffered by fire for opposing the errors of the Church of Rome.
1016	-	-	-	-	
1017	-	-	-	-	
1024	John XIX.	-	-	Conrad the Salic.	
1031	-	-	Henry I.	-	Was elected at the early age of 18. The counterpart of John XII., without one redeeming quality. He was both ignorant and illiterate.
1033	Benedict IX.	-	-	-	
1036	-	-	-	-	
1039	-	-	-	Henry III.	
1041	-	Harold Harefoot.	-	-	Dies of grief, after his release from captivity.
1044	Gregory VI.	Hardicanute	-	-	
1047	Clement II.	Edward the Confessor.	-	-	
1048	Damasus II.	-	-	-	
1049	Leo IX.	-	-	-	Honorius II. elected Pope by the Emperor and Lombard Prelates, and reigns five years as such, in opposition to Alexander.
1055	Victor II.	-	-	-	
1056	-	-	-	Henry IV.	
1057	Stephen X.	-	-	-	
1058	Benedict X.	-	-	-	Notwithstanding all the enormities of this spiritual Autocrat, he was formally enrolled at Rome among the Romish Saints, by Benedict XIII. Celibacy of the Clergy established by Gregory, A. D. 1017.
c 1058	Nicholas II.	-	-	-	
1060	-	-	Philip I.	-	
1061	Alexander II.	-	-	-	
1065	-	-	-	-	Enacted in the Council of Clermont, "that no Ecclesiastic should promise upon his oath, liege obedience to any king or layman," and that it was lawful for subjects to break the oaths of allegiance to all such as were excommunicated by the Pope. First Crusade, A. D. 1096.
1066	-	Harold II.	-	-	
1066	-	William the Conqueror	-	-	
1073	Gregory VII.	-	-	-	
1085	Victor III.	-	-	-	Orders the cup, in the Sacrament, to be denied to the Laity.
1087	Urban II.	William II.	-	-	
1099	Paschal II.	-	-	-	
1100	-	Henry I.	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1106	-	-	-	Henry V.	Schism between Gelasius and Gregory VIII., which is continued after the death of Gelasius, between Gregory and Callistus; and terminated by Gregory being taken prisoner by Callistus.
1108	-	-	Louis VI. the Gross.	-	
1118	Gelasius II.	-	-	-	
1119	Callistus II.	-	-	-	Ninth General Council, held at the Lateran Palace, A. D. 1123.
1125	Honorius II.	-	-	Lotharius II. the Sax.	Tenth General Council, held at the Lateran Palace, A. D. 1139, before which Arnold of Brescia is summoned.
1130	Innocent II.	-	-	-	
1136	-	Stephen.	-	-	
1137	-	-	Louis VII.	Conrad III.	Orders the seizure and subsequent death of Henry, the learned and pious founder of the sect called Henricians. Second Crusade, A. D. 1147.
1138	-	-	-	-	
1143	Celestine II.	-	-	-	
1144	Lucius II.	-	-	-	Grants Ireland as a donation to Henry II. of England. Condemns Arnold of Brescia to death, for heresy.
1145	Eugenius III.	-	-	Frederic I.	
1152	-	-	-	Barbarossa.	
1154	Anastasius IV.	Henry II.	-	-	Eleventh General Council, held in the Lateran Palace, A. D. 1179. Condemns the doctrines of Peter Waldo. Schism between Alexander and Victor IV. which lasted 19 years. Henry II., of England, does Penance at the Shrine of Thomas a Becket. Victor IV., Paschal III., Callistus III., and Innocent III., all opposite Popes to Alexander.
1155	Adrian IV.	-	-	-	
1159	Alexander III.	-	Philip II. Augustus.	-	
1180	-	-	-	-	Issues a Decree against Heresy.
1181	Lucius III.	-	-	-	
1185	Urban III.	-	-	-	
1187	Gregory VIII.	-	-	-	Third Crusade, A. D. 1189, under Frederic I., Philip II., and Richard Cœur de Lion.
1188	Clement III.	-	-	-	
1189	-	Richard Cœur de Lion.	-	-	
1190	-	-	-	Henry VI.	
1191	Celestine III.	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1198	Innocent III.	-	-	Philip.	Twelfth General Council, held in the Lateran Palace, A. D. 1215. Innocent establishes the doctrine of transubstantiation, and auricular confession: and excommunicates John, King of England. Fourth Crusade, A. D. 1202. Introduces the adoration of the Host. Fifth Crusade A. D. 1217.
1199	-	-	-	Otho IV.	
1212	-	John.	-	Frederic II.	
1216	-	Henry III.	-	-	
1217	Honorius III.	-	-	-	
1223	-	-	Louis VIII.	-	After three unsuccessful attempts, succeeds in obtaining the election of a Prelate, of his own nomination, to the Primacy of the English Church. Establishment of the Inquisition. Sixth Crusade, A. D. 1228.
1226	-	-	Louis IX.	-	
	-	-	St Louis.	-	
1227	Gregory IX.	-	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	
1241	Celestine IV.	-	-	-	Thirteenth General Council, held at Lyons, A. D. 1244. Seventh Crusade, A. D. 1248.
1240	Innocent IV.	-	-	Conrad IV.	
1253	-	-	-	William of Holland.	
1254	Alexander IV.	-	-	Richard, D. of Cornwall.	
1257	-	-	-	-	
1262	Urban IV.	-	-	-	Fourteenth General Council, held at Lyons, A. D. 1274. On the death of Clement, the Roman See remains vacant nearly 4 years.
1264	Gregory X.	-	-	-	
	-	-	-	-	
1265	Clement IV.	-	Philip III. the Bold.	-	
1270	-	-	-	-	
1272	-	Edward I.	-	-	End of the Crusades, A. D. 1291. Resigns the Pontificate under the influence of his successor.
1273	-	-	-	Rodolph of Hapsburg.	
1276	Innocent V.	-	-	-	
	Adrian V.	-	-	-	
	John XX.	-	-	-	
1277	Nicholas III.	-	-	-	End of the Crusades, A. D. 1291. Resigns the Pontificate under the influence of his successor.
1281	Martin IV.	-	Philip IV. the Fair.	-	
1285	Honorius IV.	-	-	-	
1288	Nicholas IV.	-	-	Adolphus of Nassau.	
1292	-	-	-	-	
1294	Celestine V.	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1295	Boniface VIII.	-	-	-	Institutes Jubilees, and assumes supreme authority over Kings and Emperors; denying them all power, except that which they derived from Christ's Vicar on earth.
1298	-	-	-	Albert of Austria.	
1303	Benedict IX.	-	-	-	Fifteenth General Council, held at Vienne, Dauphiny, according to some, A. D. 1311. Clement transferred the Pontifical Chair from Rome to Avignon.
1305	*Clement V.	-	-	-	
1307	-	Edward II.	-	-	
1308	-	-	-	Henry VII.	
1314	-	-	Louis X. King of Navarre.	Louis of Bavaria.	Birth of Wickliffe, A. D. 1324.
1316	*John XXI.	-	-	Frederic of Austria.	
1322	-	-	Philip the Tall, King of Navarre.	-	
1327	-	Edward III.	-	-	Adds the Country of Avignon to the Papal territories.
1328	-	-	Philip VI. the Fortunate.	-	
1334	*Benedict XII.	-	-	-	
1342	*Clement VI.	-	-	Charles IV.	
1346	-	-	John I. the Good.	-	John Wickliffe, the first Reformer in England. Demands tribute of the King of England, as an acknowledgment of his holding the Kingdom of the Papal See.
1350	-	-	-	-	
1353	*Innocent VI.	-	-	-	
1363	*Urban V.	-	-	-	
1364	-	-	Charles V. the Wise.	-	A schism arises, and Cardinal Cavenus is elected Pope, under the name of Clement VII., who dies in 1394. This schism lasts 50 years.
1371	*Gregory XI.	-	-	-	
1377	-	Richard II	-	Winceslaus	
1378	Urban VI.	-	Charles VI.	-	
1380	-	-	-	-	John Huss, Reformer in Bohemia. Boniface is opposed by Clement VII., and at his death by Benedict XIII.
1390	Boniface IX.	-	-	-	
1399	-	Henry IV.	-	-	
1400	-	-	-	Robert.	

The right of the Popes thus marked (*) was disputed by rival Popes.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1404	Innocent VII.	-	-	-	{ Are both opposed by Benedict XIII. Gregory and Benedict are both deposed by the Council of Pisa; and subsequently by that of Constance. Poisoned by his successor. Council of Constance, A. D. 1414, which decreed that no faith was to be kept with heretics. John denies the immortality of the soul. He is deposed from the Papacy. Council of Basil, A. D. 1431, is dissolved by Eugenius, but continues its sittings in defiance of him. Sixteenth General Council, held at Florence, A. D. 1439, impeaches Eugenius as a perjurer, simonist, apostate and heretic. Makes purgatory and the seven sacraments articles of faith. Distinguished by his munificence and love of literature. Solemnly retracts his defence of the Council of Basil; shamefully declaring that, as Æneas Sylvius, he was a damnable heretic; but as Pius II. he was an orthodox Pontiff.
1406	Gregory XII.	-	-	-	
1409	Alexander V.	-	-	-	
1410	John XXII.	-	-	-	
1411	-	-	-	-	
1413	-	-	-	Sigismund.	
1417	Martin V.	Henry V.	-	-	
1422	-	Henry VI.	Charles VII. the Victor	-	
1431	Eugenius IV.	-	-	-	
1437	-	-	-	Albert II.	
1440	-	-	-	Frederic III.	
1447	Nicholas V.	-	-	-	Instigates a conspiracy to assassinate Lorenzo de Medici, and to change the government of Florence. Inquisition in Spain, A. D. 1478. Columbus discovers America. Whose vices and enormities render him one of the most profligate characters that history has ever recorded. A poisoned draught, which he, or his son Cæsar Borgia, had prepared for some of his Cardinals, cut short his flagitious life. He was clever, covetous and cruel; with little faith and less religion, but of undisguised rapacity and determined ambition. He died August 18, 1503. Only occupies the Papal Chair one month, dying October 18, 1503.
1455	Callistus, III.	-	-	-	
1458	Pius II.	-	-	-	
1461	-	Edward IV.	Louis XI. the Prudent.	-	
1464	Paul II.	-	-	-	
1471	Sixtus IV.	-	-	-	
1483	-	Edward V. Richard III.	Charles VIII. the Affable.	-	
1484	Innocent VIII.	-	-	-	
1485	-	Henry VII.	-	-	
1492	Alexander VI.	-	-	Maximilian I.	
1493	-	-	-	-	
1498	-	-	Louis XII.	-	
1503	Pius III.	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1509	Julius II. -	Henry VIII.	-	-	Seventeenth General Council, held in the Lateran Palace, A. D. 1512. The propensity to war and bloodshed of this Pontifical General, bespeaks the savage ferocity of his nature. He died Feb. 21, 1513. Reformation introduced into Germany, by Luther, A. D. 1517. Leo was himself a mere atheist.
1513	Leo X.	-	-	-	Luther at the diet of Worms, A. D. 1521. Zwinglius, Reformer, at Zurich. Few elections had been so strongly contested as that of Adrian; the struggle in the Conclave lasted 14 days.
1515	-	-	Francis I.	-	
1519	-	-	-	Charles V.	
1522	Adrian VI.	-	-	-	
1523	Clement VII.	-	-	-	The name of <i>Protestants</i> given to the Reformed, in 1520. Confession of Ausburgh, A. D. 1530.
1534	Paul III.	-	-	-	Eighteenth General Council, held at Trent, A. D. 1545, was continued by various adjournments till 1563. Order of Jesuits instituted by Loyola, A. D. 1540.
1547	-	Edward VI.	Henry II.	-	
1550	Julius III.	-	-	-	Death of Erasmus, A. D. 1536.
1553	-	Mary.	-	-	Bestows the Cardinal's hat upon 'the keeper of his monks. He surpassed in every enormity, being absorbed in debauchery and intemperance.
1555	Marcellus II.	-	-	-	Establishes the Inquisition at Rome.
1556	Paul IV.	-	-	Ferdinand I.	Council of Trent terminates its sittings. Melancthon died 1560. Calvin's death 1564.
1558	-	Elizabeth.	-	-	
1559	Pius IV.	-	Francis II.	-	Excommunicates Elizabeth, Queen of England. Massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572.
1560	-	-	Charles IX.	-	
1564	-	-	-	Maximilian II.]	
1566	Pius V.	-	-	-	
1572	Gregory XIII.	-	-	-	Rodolph II.
1574	-	-	Henry III.	-	
1576	-	-	-	-	
1585	Sixtus V.	-	-	-	
1589	Urban VII.	-	Henry IV. the Great.	-	Gregory XIV.
1590	Gregory XIV.	-	-	-	
1591	Innocent IX.	-	-	-	Innocent IX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1592	Clement VIII.	-	-	-	Celebrates a Jubilee in 1600. Edict of Nantz 1598.
1603	-	James I.	-	-	
1605	Leo XI.	-	-	-	
1605	Paul V.	-	-	-	Synod of Dort, held A. D. 1618.
1610	-	-	Louis XIII.	-	
1612	-	-	-	-	
1619	-	-	-	Matthias.	Founds the College "De propagandâ fide" at Rome. Death of Galileo, A. D. 1642.
1621	Gregory XV.	-	-	Ferdinand II.	
1623	Urban VIII.	-	-	-	
1625	-	-	-	-	
1637	-	Charles I.	-	-	
1643	-	-	-	Ferdinand III.	
1644	Innocent X.	-	Louis XIV. the Great.	-	The Pope's temporal power rejected by the Gallican Church. Revocation of the edict of Nantz, A.D. 1685.
1653	-	Cromwell.	-	-	
1655	Alexander VII.	-	-	-	
1658	-	-	-	Leopold I.	
1660	-	Charles II.	-	-	
1667	Clement IX.	-	-	-	
1670	Clement X.	-	-	-	Issues the Bull "Unigenitus," in 1713, against the Jansenists.
1676	Innocent XI.	-	-	-	
1685	-	James II.	-	-	
1689	Alexander VIII.	William III.	-	-	
1691	Innocent XII.	-	-	-	
1700	Clement XI.	-	-	-	
1702	-	Anne.	-	-	
1705	-	-	-	Joseph I.	
1711	-	-	-	Charles VI.	
1714	-	George I.	-	-	
1715	-	-	Louis XV.	-	
1721	Innocent XIII.	-	-	-	
1724	Benedict XIII.	-	-	-	
1727	-	George II.	-	-	
1730	Clement XII.	-	-	-	
1740	Benedict XIV.	-	-	Charles VII.	
1742	-	-	-	-	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE POPES OF ROME.

A. D.	POPES OF ROME.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF FRANCE.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	
1745	-	-	-	Francis I.	
1758	Clement XIII.	-	-	Maria Theresa.	The order of the Jesuits suppressed in France, and their revenues confiscated, A. D. 1764. Expelled from Portugal, A. D. 1759.
1760	-	-	-	-	Suppresses the order of the Jesuits, A. D. 1773.
1765	-	George III.	-	Joseph II.	
1769	Clement XIV.	-	-	-	Dies at Valentia, December 15, 1799.
1774	-	-	Louis XVI.	-	
1775	Pius VI.	-	-	Leopold II.	
1790	-	-	-	Francis II.	
1792	-	-	Republic.	-	Jesuits restored, A. D. 1804.
1800	Pius VII.	-	-	-	
1804	-	-	Napoleon Emperor.	Germanic Confederation.	
1814	-	-	Louis XVIII.	-	
1815	-	-	-	-	
1820	-	-	-	-	
1823	Leo XII.	George IV.	-	-	Elected Sept. 28.
1824	-	-	Charles X.	-	
1829	Pius VIII.	-	-	-	

SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
EIGHTEEN GENERAL COUNCILS.

“To tell you plainly, I am determined to fly all conventions of Bishops. For I never yet saw a Council that ended happily. Instead of lessening, they invariably augment, the evil.—GREGORY NANZIENZEN.

COUNCILS, or Ecclesiastical Assemblies, held for regulating the discipline, reforming the errors, or defining the Doctrines of the Church, owe their origin to the Apostolic age. The first on record was held for the election of a successor to the apostleship in place of Judas, Acts i. 26. The most important was held at Jerusalem, to deliberate on the propriety of dispensing with the Ceremonial Law, in the case of the Gentile Converts at Antioch. This assembly was held about eighteen years after Christ's ascension; St. James, as Bishop of Jerusalem, presiding. In the second century we are informed that there were eight Synods held, of which, however, history furnishes no certain information. On the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, various Ecclesiastical Assemblies were held, successively, at Sinuessa, Cirrha, Alexandria, Elvira or Eliberis, Carthage, Rome, and Arles. At the latter Synod, Marinus, Bishop of that city, presided, although the Legates of Silvester, Bishop of Rome, were present. The Synods of Ancyra and Neo Cæsarea followed; and two more were convened at Alexandria, A. D. 322, against Arius. Hosius, a Spanish Bishop, presided at both these Synods, by order of the Emperor Constantine.

To these succeeded at different periods, what are termed *General Councils*, held at various places, and on various occasions: of these eight were convened by the exclusive authority of the Emperors, and are known as the *Eastern Councils*; the ten Western Councils were called under Papal authority. In the following abstract of these eighteen General Councils, we shall state the place where each was held; the occasion of its meeting; the time when it assembled; its principal decisions; the number of Bishops convened; and under whose Presidency it was held.

THE FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL OF NICE, A. D. 325.

THE celebrated Council of Nice, which was held in the metropolis of Bythinia, a province of Asia Minor, claims particular attention; as well from the causes which called it into existence, and the circumstances attending it, as from the deference which has been paid to it in every age of Christianity. The Creed, which it established, is that, which Christians now profess; the errors and impieties which it condemned, are those, which, according to the refinements of Socinus, his followers of the present day have moulded into their Anti-Christian system.

During the unhappy quarrel that arose between Arius and his Bishop, and which was exasperated by an incendiary named Baucalis, partisans sprung up at both sides; among whom were, *Eusebius*, Bishop of Nicomedia; and Eusebius the historian, biographer, and intimate friend of the Emperor Constantine. The support which Arius received from these learned men contributed in a still greater degree to widen the breach between him and his Bishop, and proportionably, to lessen the respect due to episcopal authority. To no purpose did *Hosius*, the venerable Bishop of Cordova, attempt to bring about a reconciliation. Even the Emperor himself wrote to them on the subject of their dispute, and blamed both equally for disturbing the peace of the Church by their foolish trifling; the consequence was, that he was resolved to call a Council of the whole Church for the purpose of deliberating on the matter, and deciding on one, or two other points of minor interest.

Although the early writers vary in their reports of the number of Bishops in attendance at this Council; yet the general opinion is, that it amounted to no fewer than three hundred and eighteen: Eusebius, after enumerating the different countries, which sent Bishops to this Council, makes particular mention of *Hosius*, a Spanish Bishop, whom he styles a *Prince in the Synods*, and a man of *great renown*, he also speaks of his being in such high esteem at Court, that the Emperor sent him into Egypt three years previously to preside at a Council in Alexandria, held against Arius. Sylvester, "Bishop of the Royal City of Rome" was not present, we are told, in consequence of his old age; but his Presbyters, Vitus and Vincentius, supplied his place. The historian simply

states the cause of his absence, but assigns no prerogative, or jurisdiction to him over other Bishops, in fact he notices him last; a circumstance, no less than that of Eustathius of Antioch being called by Proclus, Facundus, and other writers, the *chief Bishop*; that dissipates the delusion of Papal ascendancy being even thought of at this early period.

From all that history testifies, it is evident, that the Bishop of Rome was not, as Roman Catholic writers contend, President in the Nicene Council, even in the persons of his Legates; and, that if any Ecclesiastic acted in that capacity, it was *Hosius* :* a man perfectly independent of, and unconnected with, any other than imperial authority, and who never, in any instance, assumed the title of Legate. His signature appears, in every edition of the Council extant, to be the first that was subscribed to its Decrees.

A more interesting sight cannot well be imagined, than the venerable assemblage of Bishops and their inferior Clergy, at the Nicene Council. Deeply interesting, indeed, it might be considered, from the mutilations and marks of torture, which some of the aged Fathers bore on their persons : one disfigured by the loss of an eye ; another, by the amputation of an arm ; or deprived of some other limb, for the fearless profession of his Faith in his Crucified Redeemer. Eusebius informs us, that it was composed of the most learned men of different nations ; some celebrated for eloquence, some for gravity of life, and some for both ; some venerable for their age and experience ; others for their ingenuity and wit. When it is besides considered, that these men must have been the best interpreters of the Apostolical writings ; living as they did so near to the Apostolical age ; it must be admitted, that every circumstance concurred in their case, which could give weight and authority to the almost unanimous decision of mere uninspired men.

As soon as the members had taken the places respectively assigned them, and at the moment that expectation had reached its greatest height, the arrival of some of the Imperial Retinue announced the approach of *Constantine*. On his appearance, they rose simultaneously from their seats uncovered, as an indication of the homage they wished to pay him ; while, on his part, he seemed to be impressed with sentiments of the deepest awe and veneration.

* Baronius says, that Constantine acted as Moderator or President of the Council.

After the manifestation of their mutual respect was over, the Emperor proceeded at once to open the Council. His dignified reserve, his modesty and manliness, graced as they were by a comely and prepossessing exterior, attracted general admiration; nor were the beholders less captivated by the eloquence of an address that was strongly marked by moderation and good sense. He made professions of the warmth of his attachment to the interests of the Church, of the strength of his Faith, and of the desire, by which he was animated to promote harmony and good will; and that they were made in sincerity, he abundantly proved, by committing to the flames the papers containing the charges and recriminations brought by the contending parties against each other. The Council then went into a minute examination of Arius's affair, and after a full and patient hearing of all the circumstances connected with it, unanimously determined, that he should be condemned.

They likewise drew up a profession of Faith, which the Church of England holds this day, under the title of the *Nicene Creed*, and by it established, on a Scriptural basis, the Divinity and pre-existence of Christ, as well as His consubstantiality and co-equality with the Father.

Of the Twenty Nicene Canons, the sixth alone is of consequence. The Fifth Canon, rules, that all causes ought to be decided, where they originated. This Canon raises an insurmountable obstacle to the pretensions set up for the Bishop of Rome by the forged Canons of the Council of Sardica, with respect to the right of receiving appeals.

The Sixth Canon ordains, that the regulation of ancient usages concerning Bishops and Archbishops over all the provinces of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis, should be in conformity with the jurisdiction exercised by the Bishop of Rome over the suburbicary regions. That the Bishops of Alexandria should have power over the Bishops of the places just named, as the Bishops of Rome had over his own suffragans. Thus by instituting a comparison between the Churches of Rome and Alexandria, the Council considered them both to be equally independent Patriarchal Churches; at the same time, that it confirmed to every other great Church, (it particularizes that of Antioch) their respective rights.

THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 381.

THIS Ecclesiastical Assembly, which consisted of one hundred and fifty Bishops, was convened by the Emperor Theodosius, the elder, for the purpose of completing the theological system, which had been established at the General Council at Nice. The final and unanimous sentence which they passed respecting the perfect equality of the Holy Ghost, to the Father and the Son, went at the same time to condemn an inconsiderable and inconsistent sect, headed by Macedonius, who, while they admitted, that the Father and the Son were consubstantial, were unwilling to acknowledge the divinity of the third person in the Trinity, or his co-equality with them. To this sentence all the Christian Churches in the world have in all ages given their assent; while, with grateful reverence, they have assigned to the Bishops, who pronounced it, the second in order among the General Councils.

The Canons ordained by this Council are seven in number, of which the first three alone are important.

The First Canon confirms the Nicene Creed, and anathematizes all those who held tenets contrary to it.

The Second Canon, among other provisions, ordains, that the Bishop of Alexandria, shall govern Egypt only, and that the Bishops of the East shall govern the East, reserving its privileges to the Church of Antioch: lastly, that the Bishops of Asia, Thrace, and Pontus, shall alone regulate their respective Dioceses.

The Third Canon decrees, that the Bishop of Constantinople shall maintain the post of honor next to the Bishop of Rome; because of its being *New Rome*; i. e. the New Metropolis of the Empire.

Now, this Primacy contained nothing that was exclusively peculiar to it; nothing, which might not be communicated to others; since the Bishop of Constantinople was to have the honor of Primacy after the Bishop of Rome. Thus, the Bishop of Rome was to be considered *Primus inter pares*; and to have consequent rank and precedence; but nothing more; no jurisdiction, or authority. But, why was the precedence of the Bishop of Rome untouched; for as to authority there was none conceded? The language of the Canon distinctly stated, that the same cause which assigned to Old Rome

the first place, gave to New Rome the second place; namely, its being the seat of Imperial Government.

It does not appear that Damascus, Bishop of Rome, or any person deputed by him appeared at this Assembly.

THE THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT EPHEBUS, A. D. 431.

The Nestorian heresy having been condemned by Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, and by Celestine, Bishop of Rome, a Council convened in Egypt was about to degrade Nestorius from the Episcopacy, unless he would retract his errors, and embrace the orthodox doctrine of the Church. In anticipation of the steps thus taken against him by the Bishops of Alexandria and Rome, Nestorius applied to the Emperor, Theodosius, the younger, to call a Council; while the orthodox party made a similar application.

Imperial summonses were accordingly issued to all the Bishops of the Roman Empire, to assemble at EPHEBUS, on the Feast of Pentecost, A. D. 431, while Candidian was commissioned to act as the Emperor's Deputy on the occasion. This has been regarded as the *Third General Council*, and consisted of two hundred Bishops. Cyril, and Memmon, Bishop of Ephesus, proceeded at once against Nestorius, without waiting for the arrival of their Brethren of the West, or even of all those of the East, who had been summoned to attend. They pronounced a deposition against him "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, whom he had blasphemed." This was the first act of the Council, and is the more remarkable, as it shews, that they had neither St. Peter, nor Celestine in their thoughts; and that they considered no earthly being but the Lord of Heaven, as the Supreme Head of the Universal Church.

After a boisterous contest, and a considerable time spent in negotiation on doctrinal points between the Asiatic and Egyptian Bishops; for each appealed to the Nicene Creed as the standard of his Orthodoxy: the unhappy Nestorius, the once powerful Metropolitan of Constantinople, oppressed by Cyril, abandoned by his friends, and banished by the Emperor to *Oasis*, one of those solitary, though verdant spots, in the midst of the Lybian sands, wan-

dered about in the deserts, until death put an end to his sufferings. That the Bishop of Rome, at this early period, aimed at Supreme Power in the Church, we have the testimony of Socrates, a contemporary Historian, in proof of it. "The Roman Episcopate," says he, "as well as that of Alexandria, having transgressed the limits of Priesthood, have long since degenerated into tyranny."

This Council decreed, that it should not be lawful to utter, write, or compose any other Faith than that which had been defined by the Nicene Fathers; and that if any dared to offer any other Creed, if Ecclesiastics, they should be removed from their office; if Laics that they should be anathematized. (Labbe, tom. iii, p. 688.) Yet if we compare the Nicene Creed with that of Pope Pius, we shall find the latter differing from the former in many particulars.

THE FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT CHALCEDON, A. D. 451.

NESTORIUS, as we have seen, divided the substance, while Eutyches, whose heresy the Council of Chalcedon was designed to suppress, confounded the persons, of the Godhead, and thus ran into the contrary extreme. The aberrations of both from the truth, may be traced through Arius to that source of all the troubles that ever afflicted God's household, the heresy of Cerinthus.

At this City, situated near the Thracian Bosphorus did the *Fourth General Council* of the Church assemble, A. D. 451. Historians seem to have exhausted all their descriptive powers in their representation of this numerous and august meeting of six hundred and thirty Bishops. In the foreground, were to be seen the principal ones of the East and West, arranged in the usual order of precedence, to the right and left of the Chancel, in the Church of St. Euphemia. The Legantine Bishops held a prominent, though not the chief place, among them. That post of honor was reserved for twenty lay-commissioners of consular and senatorian rank, appointed by the Emperor: and, to give solemnity to the scene, the Holy Gospels, which as yet regulated Christian Faith and practice, were exhibited in a conspicuous situation to the view of the reverend assembly.

In the first act of this Council, Dioscorus, Patriarch o Alexan-

dria, who had sanctioned the Eutychean heresy, was pronounced unworthy of the Episcopal office, and deposed.

The Council next declared their inviolable adherence to the Creed established by the three preceding Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus: that drawn up by their committee of Bishops being in perfect conformity with it.

The *Twenty-eighth* Canon, deserves to be particularly noticed. The Council ordained, that a Primacy *before* all others, and chief honor should be preserved to the Archbishop of *Ancient* Rome. It likewise ruled, that the Church of the City of Constantinople, which is called New Rome, should have the same privileges with that of Old Rome, in consequence of its being the second City in the world. For, it goes on to say, the Fathers have justly assigned Eldership to the seat of Elder Rome, *on account of the Kingly, or Imperial* authority of that City: and they have assigned equal privileges to New Rome, rationally judging, that the City which was honoured by the Imperial power, and residence of the senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with Royal Rome, its elder sister, should, like it, be exalted in Ecclesiastical Rank. Nothing then can be more evident that the *Πρωτεία*, or Primacy, which is here conceded to Rome, solely originated in the circumstance of its being the *seat* of Imperial Power. The natural consequence is, that as the Patriarch of Constantinople was only placed in the second rank, it also solely arose from the circumstance of Constantinople being the *second* City in the Empire.

The result of the acts and deliberations of this Fourth Œcumenical Council, consisted in conceding to the Bishop of Rome the order of Rank and Precedence, and to the Bishop of Constantinople, the same prerogatives with him, together with an uncontrolled power to ordain Bishops.

THE FIFTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 556.

THIS Council was held in the Prætorium of Constantinople, A. D. 553, according to some, in the year 556, and consisted of one hundred and sixty-five Bishops. It is remarkable, that while the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, occupied the

First places, not the *least* mention was made of Vigilius, although on the spot at the time. Nothing deserving of remark occurred on this memorable occasion, except the degradation of a Bishop for permitting an Image of Theodoret to be carried about in a Church, by some of his Clergy: a fact which incontestibly proves, that the worship of Saints had not as yet superseded the worship of God. In none of the Canons of this Council do we find authority for the distinguishing tenets of the Modern Church of Rome; since to the very close of the sixth age, it was orthodox, pure, and uncorrupt. Whatever deference it might claim as an elder branch of the Church of Christ, there were no pretensions set up for it to a lordly pre-eminence over the rights and privileges of other Churches. Its jurisdiction was circumscribed by its own limits. Beyond those limits none was demanded; no other was granted. After the commencement of the seventh century, however, a complete change took place in this respect; so that if a comparison be instituted between the tenets, which it held in the first ages, and those it subsequently professed, the precise periods at which the novelties, which now distinguish it from its former self, were introduced, might be easily ascertained.

THE SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 681.

IN order to heal the divisions of the Christian Church, Constantine, the *fourth* Emperor of that name, convened a General Council in the Capital of the East, A. D. 681, in which he himself presided; supported on his right by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and on his *left* by the Roman Legates: a no very signal mark of acknowledged pre-eminence at the end of the seventh century.

The Sessions of this Council amounted to eighteen in number. In the first of them, deputies from the Patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, were present; while no fewer than one hundred and sixty Bishops, with the same deputies, attended the last sitting.

This Council renewed the condemnation of the Monotholic heresy, with its author and abettors, that had been pronounced

against them in a Council held at Rome under Agatho, the preceding year.

According to Theophanus and Cedrenus there were two hundred and eighty-nine, but according to Photius only one hundred and seventy Bishops assembled in this Council; and in the acts there were one hundred and sixty-six subscriptions to be found.

THE SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

OR THE SECOND OF NICE, A. D. 787.

THE veneration of the Cross, and of the Relics of Saints and Martyrs, first led to the introduction of symbolic worship in the Church; and faithful likenesses in painting or sculpture being deemed more interesting memorials of departed worth than venerable relics, gradually rose in popular esteem. Accordingly, pictures which were first allowed to instruct the ignorant, excite feelings of piety, and gratify heathen prejudices, had, by insensible degrees, transferred to them the honors of the original. Each silent advance was pleasing, as it was productive of comfort to the superstitious mind. Afterwards, pagan rites, genuflexion, wax lights, and incense crept into use.

The periods of this growing degeneracy may be thus marked out. During the first three centuries, images were *altogether unknown* in the Church. In the beginning of the fourth century, they were scarcely known; not so, however, towards its close, since about the year 370 they were admitted into the Eastern Churches: in the fifth century, both images and pictures got into common use; while the worship of them generally prevailed in the sixth and seventh centuries. The eighth century witnessed the reign of superstition and error, and the proportional decline of Christianity.

Leo the Isaurian, when he ascended the imperial throne, perceiving how deeply the Christian Church was immersed in gross idolatry, and knowing how much the Arabian imposture was promoted by such an innovation on primitive Christianity, undertook to abolish the sinful practice altogether. He issued an edict, directing that images should be removed from Churches and sacred places, and broken, or committed to the flames; with a threat of punishment for the disobedience of his orders. Constantine, to

whom the image worshippers, in derision, gave the name of Copronymus, from his having, as they falsely alleged, defiled the Baptismal Font, followed in his father's footsteps. He summoned a Council to meet at Constantinople, A. D. 754, where three hundred and thirty-eight Bishops were in attendance, which condemned image worship: a sentence received in the East, but rejected at Rome. In conformity with this sentence, the Emperor bound his subjects by an oath not to worship images.

Irene, the Jezebel of that day, on whom the management of the Empire devolved on the death of her husband, Leo IV., and during the minority of her son, Constantine VI., departed from the policy of her predecessors, by being instrumental in effecting the firm establishment of image worship. This weak and wicked woman, after she had taken off her husband by poison, conceived that her support of the idol cause would soon make the world forget the profligacy of her past life. To her influence is to be ascribed the convocation of the second Council of Nice, A. D. 787, which now ranks as the *seventh* of the General Councils. It was in her reign, that the Roman Pontiffs effected the final separation of Rome and Italy from the East, by conferring on Charlemagne, heterodox as he was in their eyes, the title of Emperor.

The second Nicene Council was attended by Vicedomus and Hugumeus, who occupied the first place in it as Papal Legates.

Tarasius, a layman, who had been ordained Patriarch of Constantinople for the purpose of forwarding Irene's views, stood second in order. Besides many of the inferior Clergy, and two imperials, there were three hundred and fifty Bishops present. Their principal acts consisted in repealing the decrees passed against image worship by a preceding Council at Constantinople, A. D. 754, at which nearly an equal number of Bishops attended, and in passing new ones in its favour. They ranked Iconoclasts with the impious Nebuchadnezzar, who removed the Cherubim from the mercy seat. For this Council says that the commandment against graven images referred only to the Jews, and not to the Christians! Then followed, that such as did not embrace venerable images, should be cut off from God! that such as did not honor them, and regard them as holy and sacred, should be anathematized; and these curses they pronounced, professing themselves to be under the unerring direction of the Holy Ghost! When the Council had completed its object, it immediately transmitted copies of its acts

to the different Churches in the West. At Rome they were received as the dispensations of Heaven; while in Germany, France, and England they were rejected with indignation. While this was the state of things in the West, in the East a similar difference of opinion prevailed on the subject; for, although images had been restored in several places, the practice of worshipping them was not universal. The Gallican and German Churches struggled long against the abomination, but in the lapse of time they too were carried away by the delusions of evil worship and idolatry.

THE EIGHTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 870.

THIS General Council, which was convened at Constantinople, A. D. 870, being the last of those Ecclesiastical assemblies that met in the East, deserving the title of General, or *Æcumenical*, was summoned by Basilus, on occasion of a difference between the rival Bishops of Rome and Constantinople. It is worthy of remark, that when this Council deposed Photius, they dipped the pen with which they subscribed his condemnation in consecrated wine! Shameful and profane as this act was, it was not confined to this solitary occasion.

This, the Eighth General Council, was opened with greater form than was usually observed on similar occasions; and, as if to impress it with more than ordinary solemnity, the Gospels, as at the Council of Chalcedon, and a Crucifix, were conspicuously exhibited in the midst of it; an exhibition, that at least shewed the value which they set on the word of God. The Legates, Donatus and Stephen, who had been sent by Adrian II. to this Council, were treated with the most marked respect. Notwithstanding this, and that they, on their part, artfully made their influence in the Council subservient to the views both of the Emperor and the Patriarch, they were unable, with all their address, to prevail on either to restore to the See of Rome, any of the provinces which formerly belonged to it.

Next to the proceedings had in reference to the dispute between Photius and Ignatius, the most important thing that occurred at this Council was the anathema which it pronounced in its third

Canon, on such as did not adore the image of the *Saviour*, and honor the images of the Virgin Mary and the saints! The origin of the Crown and Rosary, that is, of stated repetitions of Ave Marias and Pater Nosters, may be traced to the Eighth General Council, in the penances imposed by it on the partisans of Photius. Besides abstinence from food, they were obliged, by a Decree of the second Session, to repeat *κυrie ελεison*, one hundred times a day, on their knees.

THE NINTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

OR FIRST OF LATERAN, A. D. 1123.

IN this first Council of Lateran, the chief object of its convocation was forwarded by the indulgence of a *plenary remission of sin* to those who should repair to Jerusalem for the purpose of assisting the Christians against the Infidels; with the special promise that their estate should be in holy keeping until their return; this constituted the substance of the eleventh Canon.

This Council was summoned by Calixtus, Bishop of Rome, and was attended, according to some writers, by three hundred; to others, by four hundred and fifty; and to others, by nine hundred Bishops. Two hundred and fifty years had intervened since the last Council was held; and during that period the Pope managed to gain unlimited power, and to exercise a paramount authority over the few Bishops whom they now and then collected around them in the Vatican.

THE TENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

OR SECOND OF LATERAN, A. D. 1139.

THE second of Lateran, although dignified with the title of the Tenth General Council, in consequence of its being attended by nearly one thousand Bishops, deserves to have nothing further said of it, than that it was held by Pope Innocent II., A. D. 1139, in the reign of the Emperor Lothario, and ordained thirty Canons, principally on subjects relating to morals and discipline.

THE ELEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

OR THIRD OF LATERAN, A. D. 1179.

THE Third Council of Lateran, which reckons as the Eleventh General Council, was convened by Pope Alexander III. A. D. 1179, and consisted of about three hundred Bishops. Its chief efforts were directed towards the extirpation of the Albigenses, no less than the Waldenses, who were variously called Leonists, or poor men of Lyons. So violently did the storm of persecution rage against these, and to such unmerited sufferings were they subjected, that this century in which they first appeared, has been with great propriety designated Waldensian. Peter Waldus, their reputed founder, first made his appearance about the year 1170; although the origin of his sect is by some referred to the time of Pope Sylvester; by others it is carried back to the age of the Apostles. However this may be, Waldus attached to himself a multitude of followers by his piety, and the simplicity of his manners; and although not deeply learned, (*aliquantulum literatus*, says his historian) he explained to them the New Testament in their vernacular language.

The Lateran Council, which, under Alexander III. directed the thunder of the Vatican against the Albigenses, drew up twenty-seven Capitular Acts; some, like those of former Councils, relating to morals and discipline; others, for suppressing abuses in the Church, and for regulating the election of the Popes and enlarging their authority. One decree was directed against the three Antipopes, who were at this period contending for the Papal chair. And as if to prove, that infallibility could interest itself about the most trifling matters, they proportioned the number of horses to be kept for equipage by Bishops, and other dignitaries of the Church! In fact, all the Canons were of a harmless nature,* except the last, which breathed a demoniac spirit against the peaceable Albigenses; for all were so denominated, who were enemies to the Roman Pontiff. After enumerating the titles by which these heretics were called, the twenty-seventh Canon subjects to a "curse, both them-

* By the 16th Canon it is decreed, that "Oaths are to be regarded as perjuries which militate against Ecclesiastical utility, and the institutes of the Holy Fathers.

selves, their protectors, or harbourers, and all persons who admit them into their houses or lands,—that their houses and goods should be confiscated, and themselves reduced to slavery by their Princes,”—“Further, we take off two years penance from such of the faithful as shall, by the counsel of their Bishops, take up arms against them for the purpose of subduing them, &c.”

This exterminating statute having been confirmed by the reigning Pontiff, and subsequently ratified by the Council of Trent, it consequently stands as part of the unaltered law of the Church of Rome.

THE TWELFTH GENERAL COUNCIL, OR THE FOURTH OF LATERAN, A. D. 1215.

AN early step of Innocent III. was the convocation of a General Council, the Fourth of Lateran, A. D. 1215, by and with the concurrence of the reigning Emperor, Frederick II. In his letter of Indiction, he assigned two reasons for convening this celebrated Assembly: the first was for the Reformation of the Church, and the suppression of heresy; and the second for the purpose of spiring up the Princes and Prelates of Christendom to engage in an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land. Four hundred and twelve Bishops; twice that number of Abbots, and deputies from absent Bishops; the Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem in person; Patriarchal deputies also from Antioch and Alexandria, attended, and Ambassadors from the Emperors of Constantinople and Germany: besides representatives from England, Ireland, France, Spain, and Hungary; so formidable an array of power and authority did this mixed assembly present.

Innocent opened the Council in person, in his double capacity of Prince and Bishop. Armed with the two swords, he seemed to have acted like his predecessors in the three preceding Councils, with a consciousness of authority, which could brook no superior.

In the plenitude of such assumed power, Innocent addressed both Princes and Prelates, on the grounds already assigned for their assembling, and then presented them with Canons to the number of seventy, which he had previously drawn up; at the same time, desiring that no debate should be held respecting them, but that the

silence of the Council should be regarded as a token of their approbation of them. By these means he not only confirmed and extended the authority of the Popes, and the power of the Clergy, but imposed new Articles of Faith on the Church, among which stood prominently conspicuous, the monstrous and absurd doctrines of Transubstantiation and Auricular Confession, the latter of which he ranked among the duties prescribed to Christians by the Divine Laws! Numerous as were the Canons which he published, there is only one which possesses any interest at the present day; to that single Canon we direct our attention; because by it, the attention of Protestant Europe has been arrested since the period of the Reformation.

The Third Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council denounces heretics with even more precision than the corresponding Canon, (viz. 27th) of the preceding Council. It goes even to the extent of compelling secular powers to extirpate all heretics marked by the Church of Rome, from their respective territories, under pain of excommunication; and that should they persist for one year in refusing to fulfil their obligations, the Pope may declare their vassals absolved from their allegiance, and bestow their lands on the faithful children of the Church; and lastly, that such persons should incur the penalty of excommunication as afforded sustenance, protection, or asylum to those lying under the Anathema. See Labb. Conc. tom. xi. 148. Marsh's Comparative View, p. 218.

THE THIRTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

OR FIRST OF LYONS, A. D. 1245.

FREDERICK II. Emperor of Germany, having violated a solemn promise to Pope Gregory IX., by which he bound himself to lead an expedition to Palestine, in the cause of Christianity, subjected himself to the effects of a Papal excommunication; he was deposed from the Imperial dignity, and his subjects released from their allegiance.

After the death of Gregory IX. Innocent IV. having succeeded to the Papal Chair, retired to Lyons, where he convoked the Thirteenth General Council, A. D. 1245. They addressed circular letters, not only to the Episcopal Order of the Clergy, but to dif-

ferent Potentates; and even cited thither the Emperor Frederick himself, against whom the Council was directed. The Prelates in attendance, amounted only to one hundred and forty.

As Gregory IX. had previously thundered forth an excommunication against Frederic, so Innocent IV. regardless of the remonstrances of the Imperial Deputies, and of their appeal to a future Pope, and a future Council; pronounced sentence of deposition against him, absolved all those who had sworn fealty to him, and threatened to excommunicate all such, as would give him either succour or advice. The crimes recorded against him, were those of sacrilege, heresy, perjury, and felony. It is averred, the Council did not approve of the act of deposition; although it subscribed the decrees past at the time, among which this act stands.

THE FOURTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL, OR SECOND OF LYONS, A. D. 1274.

THE reasons assigned by Pope Gregory X. for assembling this Council, are laid down in his Bull of Indiction in the following order: first, for effecting a re-union of the Greek and Latin Churches; they having expressed a mutual wish for reconciliation. The former of which, held at this time, that the Holy Spirit only proceeded from the Father, and not from the Son. To correct this error, although not the avowed object for assembling the Council, was the real one. Secondly, for the relief of the Holy Land. And thirdly, for the improvement of Church discipline, and the Reformation of the morals of the Clergy. The Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, attended the Council, as did upwards of five hundred Bishops, seventy Abbots, and one thousand of the inferior Clergy: in addition to the Ambassadors from France, Germany, Sicily, and from the Emperors of the East.

The Council published thirty-one ordinances, principally relating to discipline. The first only treats of a point of Faith, since it determines the procession of the Holy Ghost to be from the Father and the Son, as from one single principle, and not from two principles.

THE FIFTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT VIENNE, A. D. 1311.

WERE it not for other circumstances, with which it is closely connected, the fourteenth century would have derived no interest from the Fifteenth General Council. But the age was rendered illustrious, because in it arose the Morning Star of the Reformation, the Restorer of Gospel Light, the Emancipator from Popish tyranny and superstition; the immortal *Wickliffe*.

The Council of Vienne in Dauphiny, was convoked by Pope Clement V. soon after the removal of the Pontifical Chair to Avignon, and ranks in the estimation of the Romish Church as the Fifteenth General Council. The principal objects which he had in view in calling it together, were for the double purpose of rooting out heresy, and judging of certain accusations brought against the Order of Knights Templar. The result of the deliberations on the latter point, was the publication of a Bull for their suppression, and for the transfer of their property, to the Knights Hospitallers. There were but few Bishops in attendance at it, and even those few deprived of the liberty of speaking, judging, or voting.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE,

A. D. 1414.

THE rivalship which existed for the Papal Throne between three Popes, first suggested to the Emperor Sigismund, the King of France, and other monarchs, the necessity of assembling a General Council, since, by it alone, could schism be healed, and Reformation in the Church, at this time so much wanted, be successfully attempted. They perceived that its peace was destroyed, and that the contending Pontiffs preferred the gratification of their own ambition, to every thing else. John XXIII. the successor of Alexander V. joined in the views of the Potentates, under an impression, that they would support his cause, and accordingly, appointed a Council, to meet at *Constance*, November 1, 1414, with a special promise, that he would submit to its judgment, whether his rivals did so, or not.

After the members of the Council had deliberated, some acknowledged the legality of the Council of Pisa, while the greater number disowned it; decreeing at the same time, that John XXIII. as well as Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. should entirely renounce his claims to the Pontificate. Thus was John mortified by disappointment, at the moment he expected a triumph; but what inflicted a still deeper wound on his feelings, was the resolution with which they vindicated the privileges of the Council. Conscious of their strength, they declared that the representatives of the Church in General Council assembled, were superior to the Sovereign Pontiff, not only when schism prevailed, but at all other times whatever. This was one of their earliest acts.

Although John was disheartened by this rigorous sentence, he yet prepared to appear before the Council, and there to maintain that he could not be deposed except on the score of heresy.

After the extinction of this Papal triumvirate, Martin V. became the object of their choice; against whose election, however, Benedict protested to the latest hour of his life. After the death of Benedict, a new competitor was set up for the Pontificate, by two of the Cardinals, under the title of Clement VIII.; but he was afterwards prevailed on to resign, and to leave Martin in undisturbed possession.

Concurrent with the proceedings of the Council of Constance against John XXIII. were the initiating steps taken against the unfortunate Bohemian Reformer, John Huss. A fouler plot does not stain the page of history, than the treatment which he received at the hands of the Constantian Fathers. For their base, hypocritical and treacherous conduct, no palliation can be offered; no excuse alleged. It forms a standing memorial of Popish intolerance, which sophistry cannot obliterate, nor casuistry efface.

The melancholy fate of John Huss, who was burned in violation of the safe conduct granted him by the Emperor Sigismund, is an imperishable monument of disgrace to the character of the Council of Constance. Whatever faults may be attributed to this eminent ecclesiastie; if manly independence in maintaining his opinions, and ardent zeal in exposing the vices which disgraced the conduct of the Clergy, can be considered faults; they vanish before the recollection of the death to which he was consigned. He was deemed a disobedient Son of the Church, by refusing to renounce his eye-sight, and to submit both his will and judgment, without

reservation, to the will and judgment of that Holy Mother. In a word, he refused to yield a servile obedience to ecclesiastical despotism, and therefore his doom was sealed.

The number of Sessions held by the Constantian Fathers, amounted to forty-four, and their principal discussions related to the rival pretensions of the Anti-Popes, the methods necessary to enforce their submission and resignations, and the election of a successor. Dufrin is more than usually brief in his notice of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague. He dismissed his account of the fifteenth and twenty-first Sessions, with merely observing that the former was spent in drawing up a process against Huss, and the latter in condemning Jerome. In the two last Sessions; viz. the forty-third and forty-fourth, Martin V. appears to act for the first time in his Pontifical capacity.*

THE SIXTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

HELD AT FLORENCE, A. D. 1439.

THE same four subjects which had been treated of by the Council of Basil, were now brought forward; the first related to the use of leavened bread, or unleavened bread in the Blessed Sacrament; the second to Purgatory; the third to Papal Supremacy; and the fourth, to the procession of the Holy Spirit.

THE SEVENTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

OR FIFTH OF LATERAN, A. D. 1512.

THE Emperor Maximilian, and Louis XII. of France, having undertaken to check the tyrannical spirit of the Pontiff Julius, as

* Great diversity of opinion exists respecting the Council of Constance; all Catholics confess that as to *some* of its Sessions it was œcumenical; the Italians deny that it was œcumenical as to all its Sessions, while the French vigorously maintain the directly opposite opinion. (Delahogue de Eccles. p. 451.)

Hermanus Von Der Hardt informs us, that others beside *Divines* and grave secular men attended Constance during the Council, to wit, Barbers 306, Players and Jesters 346, Pastry Cooks 325, and Harlots 700. (Herm. Von Der Hardt de rebus Univ. Conc. Constan. tom. v.)

well as to reform the errors of a corrupt Church, called a Council, which they assembled at Pisa. At the very opening of this Synod, they summoned Julius to appear before them, accusing him at the same time of perfidy and violated honor, and finally, decreeing his suspension from the Papal dignity. This hostile movement, although it appeared at first only to have excited Julius's ridicule and contempt; yet was not altogether unheeded by him, as he issued his mandate, A. D. 1512, for holding a Council, by which he intended, after annulling the acts of the other, and condemning them as heretical, (*diris devovere*) to consign their authors to perdition! This Council, which reckons as the Fifth of Lateran, is esteemed by the Romish Church, as

THE SEVENTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL,

if that can be called General,* which only consisted of about eighty Bishops, and fifteen Cardinals, all Italians of the worst description; *vilissima sedis Romanæ mancipia*, as they are called; together with a few Abbots, or Principals of the Monastic Orders. In justice to the latter, it should indeed be admitted, that one of the leaders of the Augustinian Monks, to whose body Luther belonged, deplored with unaffected sorrow, the monstrous ignorance, profligacy, and impiety of the age, and even laid his complaints with dutiful obedience before the chief Pastor. But instead of attending to remonstrances of this kind, Julius gave utterance to the most vindictive feelings against the Council of Pisa. He condemned it in language the most injurious and insulting, that he could use; and would no doubt, have given practical evidence of the sincerity of his infuriated denunciations against it, as well as against the temporal princes who convened it, had not death frustrated his diabolical projects.

A member of the House of Medici, succeeded this overbearing and audacious Pontiff. Leo X. although as indifferent about religion and true piety, as his predecessor, nevertheless had some redeeming qualities. But to the Reformation of the Church, either in its head or members, or to whatever had the remotest tendency to reform, he was no less an enemy than Julius himself.

Besides, it is little to Leo's credit, that he had been enabled

* "It remains a question," says Bellarmine, "among Catholics to the present day, whether the Fifth Lateran be truly a General Council, *non quasdam Sessiones*, not as to some Sessions, but *in toto*, altogether.

through the influence of Francis I. totally to annihilate the famous Edict, called the Pragmatic Sanction, so obnoxious to Papal avarice and dominion, after it had been repealed and re-enacted over and over again; and to substitute in its place, a Code of Laws, more favorable to his ambitious views. The Council continued through twelve Sessions; in the tenth of which it approved of Ecclesiastical *Pawnbroking* establishments, which it called Banks of Piety, and in its last Session, issued a spirit-stirring decree against the Turks, and so terminated its labors.

THE EIGHTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL, OR COUNCIL OF TRENT, A. D. 1545—1563.

TRENT is the seat of an Archbishop. Its ancient name was Tridentum, and the Tribes and Alps in its vicinity were not unfrequently called Tridentine. It is seated in a small, but beautiful valley, exposed, however, from its elevation, to intense cold in winter, and from the reflection of the surrounding mountains, to heat as intense in summer.

The town is well built, and boasts some palaces. That of the Prince Bishop contains some very noble apartments. The Cathedral is Gothic, and not remarkable either for its beauty or magnitude. Its organ is admired, though supposed to be inferior to that of the Church Santa Maria Maggiore, in the same city. But Trent owes its fame neither to its situation nor to its edifices, but to the celebrated Council held within its walls about the middle of the sixteenth century. It was opened in the Cathedral, but generally held its sessions in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, where a picture still exists, representing the Council sitting in full Synod. The most conspicuous figures are supposed to be the portraits taken from the life.

This assembly, convoked by Paul the Third, consisted of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, chiefs of religious orders, representatives of the Universities, and ambassadors from the Emperor, Kings of France, Spain, Portugal, &c., from the Assemblies of Venice, of Genoa, and from the Cantons of Switzerland, from the German Electors, &c. These ambassadors were called Oratores, and were accompanied each by a certain number of law-

yers and divines, selected by their respective sovereigns. The whole number of persons composing the general assemblies amounted to one thousand.

The General Council of Trent, as it is called, assembled A.D. 1545, and continued, with interruptions, caused by suspension, and removal to Bononia, to the end of the year 1563; thus completing a period of eighteen years, during which it was under the infallible direction of Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV.

The Council was opened December 13, 1545, under the Pontificate of Paul III.; was translated to Bologna, March 11, 1547, where no business was transacted; and the members were dismissed September 17, 1549. It was resumed at Trent, May 1, 1551, under Julius III.; suspended on account of Maurice's expedition, April 28, 1552; restored under Pius IV. January 18, 1562, and dissolved December 4, 1563. The presidents of the first period were the Cardinal Legates, di Monte, (afterwards Pope Julius III.) Santa Croce, (afterwards Marcellus II.) and our countryman, Pole. Those of the second period, Cardinal Crescentio, legate, and Cardinal Pighino, Archbishop of Siponto, and Lipoman, Bishop of Verona, Nuncios. Those of the third, Hercules Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, and Cardinal Seripando, to whom were afterwards joined, Hosius, Cardinal of Warmia, and Cardinals Simoneta and Altempo; and on the deaths of Mantua and Seripando, in March, 1563, the Cardinals Morone and Navaggerio, all holding a legatine commission.

Twenty-five Bishops, headed by the Papal Legates, and some ecclesiastics of inferior rank, principally Italians, and creatures of the Court of Rome, who were gained over to it by rewards, hopes, or fears, were the constituent members of this far famed assembly. On December 13, 1545, this celebrated Council, the last that Christendom has witnessed, and which became a new foundation and bulwark for the Papal hierarchy, and for that form and system of the Christian religion to which Catholic Europe, in its old state and circumstances of politics and population, was made to bend, was solemnly opened. Respecting the order of proceeding in the Council, it may be proper to state, that all matters to be brought before the assembly, and the decisions to be made upon them, were first prepared in "congregations," or committees, appointed for the purpose; when the Bishops, who, as Father Paul says, were "mostly lawyers (canonists) or learned men of the court," who

knew little of the "crabbed school points," were assisted, and to a great degree guided, by divines, who had no vote in the Council. After the decisions which it might be expedient to adopt, had thus been considered in the committees, they were next discussed in a general congregation; and not till the decrees to be passed had been there agreed upon, were they successively brought before the Council in open session. By this arrangement the indecorum of debate, and of discordancy of opinion in an infallible assembly was avoided, or at least was screened from the public eye.

At its OPENING SESSION an inauguration sermon was delivered, in which the preacher introduced some ludicrous comparisons, unsuited to so solemn an occasion.

After due regard had been paid to the solemnities of religion, one of the first points agitated, related to the title of the Council. Although it was only a Roman Council, a mere ecclesiastical synod of the Papal states, yet was it agreed upon to call it a General Council of the Church.

The FIRST SESSION presents nothing else worthy of observation. Pending its existence, the Papal Legates received their *secret* instructions from Rome to attend exclusively to points of doctrine, and not to touch on the subject of reform until these were disposed of. The reformatations required, were to correct the abuses in the collations of church livings; in the ordinations of clerici without licence; in preaching, confessing, the begging of Friars, and the indulgences for building St. Peter's, and the Crusades. As to the Court of Rome, what most revolted the world was its avarice, pomp, and luxury. After these the penitentiary court, the chancery, and the rota, would need the pruning hook. But the main head of all the reformation that would then remain was, that all church livings should be conferred on those who would really do the duty themselves, and not by mercenaries. But lest the Rights or Prerogatives of the Holy See should be endangered, in imitation of his predecessors Martin V. and John XXIII., the Pope sent them a brief to adjourn, dissolve, or translate the Council, according to the exigency of the case. (In this way, he effectually guarded against any beneficial result which might arise from their deliberations; while ostensibly, the deputation was appointed for redressing the grievances complained of.)

In the second session, the French Prelates renewed the application made in the former, about the addition of the words, *universam*

ecclesiam representans. This gave rise to a debate, which terminated in a resolution, that œcumenical should only be added to the title already given to the Council by the Pope! (After this manner was the time of the assembly in its second session being frittered away, without the slightest advance being made towards amelioration, or improvement of any kind.) Twenty-eight members only attended this Session, including the Archbishop of Armagh. The rule laid down by them is curious enough, considering that it was for the regulation of an Episcopal assembly, claiming to be legitimately convened under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. "In delivering his opinion no one ought to vociferate with indecent language, or to create confusion by tumult; no one contend with false, vain, or obstinate contention, so that the hearers be not offended, nor the discrimination of a correct judgment be prevented by perturbation of mind." A person would suppose such a caution more applicable to a set of disorderly or profligate libertines, than to a grave assemblage of Ecclesiastics.

In the THIRD SESSION the Council decreed, that a confession of faith should be prepared. There being so few present at the passing of this order, they decreed that their future decisions should be sanctioned by the fullest attendance possible; in order that matters of such high importance should not be hurried over in thin meetings of the kind. Even among those who attended, it is a well ascertained fact, that not an individual was distinguished for sound theological knowledge, or, indeed, for any kind of scientific or classical acquirement.

In the FOURTH SESSION, forty-eight Bishops and five Cardinals proceeded to establish Tradition (which they grounded on forged decretals of the Popes,) on the same footing with the canonical scriptures. Their words are "*pari pietate ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur.*" (Truly may it be said of these Fathers, "that they made the word of God of none effect by their traditions,") and as if to give a further proof of the infallible principle by which they were guided, they pronounced the Latin Vulgate, including the Apocrypha, free from error; while, at the very moment, they ordered a more correct edition to be prepared, without ever once considering that the new one might be less perfect, than that perfect original.

Of this Session Father Paul thus speaks, "Some thought it strange that five Cardinals and forty-eight Bishops should have so

easily defined the most important and principal points of religion, which till then had never been decided; giving canonical authority to books considered uncertain and apocryphal; rendering authentic a translation differing from the original text; and instructing and prescribing the manner of understanding the word of God. Nor was there among the Prelates any one worthy of attention from his learning. There were some lawyers, learned, perhaps, in that profession, but unskilled in religion; a few theologians, but these of less than ordinary talent, the greater number gentlemen or *courtiers*; and as to their dignities some were only titular—the greater part Bishops of so small a place, that considering each to represent his own people, it could not be said that one thousandth part of the Christian world was represented.

The death of Luther occurred during the continuance of this Session, but the flame of pure religion, which he excited, did not expire with him. The holy light was still kept burning, and transmitted by his followers on the continent to the authors of the English Reformation.

The FIFTH AND SIXTH SESSIONS were chiefly spent in extracting from Luther and Zuinglius's writings, from those of the former principally, certain propositions touching the canonicity of scripture, original sin, justification, imputed righteousness, predestination, merit of congruity, and the number of the Sacraments, which they condemned in consecutive order. The discussions on the next point of doctrine, original sin, were extremely curious, and the whole subject proved highly perplexing to the fathers, its nature, the mode of its transmission, the means of its remission, and how the blessed Virgin was involved in it, were all found to be very unmanageable questions. S. Augustine had made it to consist in "concupiscence," or corrupt affection. Anselm in "the privation of original righteousness, which in baptism is renewed by grace as an equivalent." Aquinas, Bonaventine, Peter Lombard, and John Scotus had each his peculiar account to give of it, the intelligibility of which may be judged of by the following statement, in which some of the contending parties endeavoured to unite, namely, "that in our corrupted nature there are two rebellions, one of the soul against God, the other, that of the senses against the soul; that the latter is concupiscence, the former unrighteousness, and that both are sin." It was, however, generally agreed that concupiscence

is not sin, but the punishment of sin being an *act* at least of the will, contrary to the divine law; and the fathers, to avoid the perplexity that arose, were most inclined to the opinions of Ambrose Catharinus, who contended "that Adam's sin was in us only by imputation, on account of the covenant which God made with him; many, however, being opposed to it, they dared not adopt it, and in spite of the remonstrances of some on the ridicule which such a step would entail on them, the Council determined to condemn those who denied original sin, without saying in what it consisted, or what was to be held affirmatively concerning it.

On the remission of original sin "all agreed that it was cancelled by baptism, and the soul restored pure into the state of innocence, though the punishments that follow sin," including concupiscence, "are not removed, that they may be an exercise for the righteous." Many passages of St. Paul and the other Apostles were alleged, which, it was asserted in the Council of Trent, as it is by many Protestants now, "affirm that baptism washeth, cleanseth, illuminateth, and purifieth the soul, so that no condemnation spot or wrinkle remaineth:" to say "that there remained something worthy of death in the baptized," and "to make concupiscence sin in them was held to be clearly heretical."

In the end a decree was passed in the fifth Session, consisting of five articles, the last of which anathematized all who should deny that the guilt of sin is removed by the grace which Jesus Christ confers in baptism, and all which is sinful entirely taken away, and affirms that there is nothing which God hates in the regenerated, that concupiscence, though remaining in the baptized, is only "to exercise them, but without hurting those that resist it," and that though St. Paul sometimes calls this concupiscence sin, yet the Catholic Church never taught that he gave it that name, as if it were truly and properly sin in the baptized, but because it comes from sin and leads to sin.

The next article considered was the capital one of JUSTIFICATION. On this the discussions were rendered very complicated, by being made to involve not only the nature and means of justification, the nature of faith and the quality of works antecedent, concomitant, and subsequent, but also the questions of assurance, free will, and predestination. The subject was felt both by the divines and the fathers, to be singularly important, as "all the errors of Luther resolved themselves into it;" and withal singularly difficult, since

(unlike the question of original sin) "justification by faith only was a thing never heard of before;" and Luther's doctrine, relative to every part of it, such as had "never been thought of by any school writer, and therefore never confuted or discussed!"

Much was said also on *works* preceding, accompanying, and following justification, and on the influence of each. In short, they could see that both faith and works are required in the Christian, but respecting the distinct provinces of each, they appear to be properly in the dark. As F. Paul, with sententious and admirable sagacity remarks, "But the principal point of the difficulty they touched not, namely, WHETHER A MAN IS RIGHTEOUS, (JUSTIFIED) AND THEN DOETH RIGHTEOUSLY, OR BY DOING RIGHTEOUSLY BECOMETH RIGHTEOUS—OR IS JUSTIFIED." This profound author here places his finger on the precise point at issue, the very core of the question. No one means "to exclude either hope or charity from being always joined as inseparable mates with faith in the man that is justified, or works from being added as necessary duties, required at the hands of every justified man:" but the question is, Do they *go before* and *procure* his justification, or do they "follow after," and *prove* him justified?

These discussions were frequently marked by much animosity. In particular, we blush to record the more than indecorum, the disgraceful violence into which the Bishop of Cava was betrayed. The Bishop of Chiron having said, "that he hoped at the next meeting to refute him, and to demonstrate to him his ignorance or his obstinacy," he was so incensed as to take his right reverend brother by the beard, and tear out some of the hair! He was in consequence committed to custody, and condemned to perpetual banishment—the Pope having suggested to the Council, that they should pronounce a severe sentence, that he himself might have the merit of mitigating it, and then sending the untractable Bishop to his Diocese, where he would give them no further trouble; all which was accordingly done.

Great rudeness and insolence also passed, at this time, between different Prelates, and even between the Cardinals acting under the Pope's commission, on the subject of removing, or adjourning, the Council, on account of the alarm which the Fathers felt at the position occupied by the Protestants, now in arms against the Emperor. Charles himself was so averse to any suspension of the Council's proceedings, that he, by his ambassador, threatened to

throw Cardinal Santa Crose, one of the presidents, into the river Adige if he dared to propose it.

At length, in the Sixth Session, held January 13, 1547, the Decree of the Council was promulgated, consisting of sixteen articles, followed by thirty-three canons; the former laying down the approved doctrine, and the latter anathematizing the errors opposed to it. Without entering into these refinements, we may remark, that the doctrine at large is very corrupt—the doctrine of men who know not, in any feeling and impressive manner, the fall of man, the corruption of their own hearts, the evil of sin, the grace of God, or the Gospel of Christ. It bears upon its very face, that it is the work of mere speculators—men deciding dogmatically upon divine truths, under the guidance of unhumbled carnal reason.

According to a concession which had been made, principally to the demands of the civil rulers, that the consideration of points of discipline should proceed *pari passu*, the question of the residence of the Bishops and Clergy accompanied that of justification.

Other doctrinal questions came next under discussion, and would have been quietly carried, and with the Pope's full concurrence; but the Imperials, no less than the Spanish Bishops, were not content to stop there. They earnestly pressed the removal of old grievances, and that the Church should be reformed in its head and members; measures which constituted the chief grounds for assembling the Council of Constance, in the early part of the preceding century. The Papal Prelates, acting under the express orders of Paul, as obstinately resisted any attempt at change. This led him to encourage a report, which had been industriously spread by his physicians, of a purple fever having broken out in Trent; as it afforded him a pretext of transferring the Council to Bologna, a town in the Papal States, and consequently beyond the reach of the Emperor's influence. On the adjournment taking place, the Imperialists and Spaniards remained in Trent, remonstrating loudly against it, and alleging that the removal of the Council was a virtual suspension of its functions, if not a total dissolution. But as remonstrance was vain, they contented themselves with making arrangements for their future proceedings, without performing any Synodal act whatever; at the same time assuming a title,—*sancta synodus in quocunque sit loco*, declaratory of their competence to deliberate on the affairs of the Church. The Legates, at the head

of their own party, but with loftier pretensions, styled themselves *sancta synodus Bononiensis*!

At the Seventh Session, held March 3, 1547, various Canons were established: thirteen on the Sacraments generally, fourteen on baptism, and three on confirmation. All were anathematized who should say that the Sacraments were more or fewer in number than seven; that the sacraments of the New Testament differed from those of the Old only in the external rites; that all the sacraments were of equal excellence; that they are not necessary to salvation; that they were instituted only to nourish faith; that they do not *contain* that grace which they signify, and *confer* it on those who put no hindrance in the way—namely, by mortal sin persisted in at the time: all likewise who should deny that the three sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and orders, imprint on the soul *a character*, or spiritual and indelible mark; or that, in administering the sacraments, the ministers *intention* at least to do what the Church does, is necessary.

For the precise number of seven sacraments, the schoolmen, it appears, had invented the most ridiculous reasons, drawn from “the seven virtues, the seven capital vices, the seven defects proceeding from original sin,” and various other fancies.

On comparing the several real or supposed sacraments together, baptism was preferred for its utility and necessity; matrimony for its signification; confirmation, for the dignity of him who was to administer it; the eucharist, as an act of worship. And these “scholastic fooleries” were thought worthy to be made the ground of a solemn anathema.

The absurdities which follow, from requiring the right intention of the priest as necessary to the validity of a sacrament, especially among those who make so much to depend exclusively on sacraments, were pointed out by Catharinus with such force and clearness, that it seems wonderful how the Council could resist his arguments: nay, he himself afterwards affirmed, in a work which he published, that the Fathers were of his opinion, and that their determination ought to be so understood!—“Children,” he urged, “must be damned, penitents remain unabsolved, the people without the communion, if a priest were an infidel, or a formal hypocrite, and in administering sacraments did not intend what the Church did.” He added, “If any said these cases were rare, would to God

they were so! But suppose there were only one such priest, and that he baptized only one child without the intention to convey true baptism; that child, when grown up might become the Bishop of a great city, live many years in his charge, and ordain most of the Priests within its limits. Yet he, being himself unbaptized, is not ordained, nor are they ordained that are promoted by him. And thus in that great city, there will be neither eucharist nor confession! Behold millions of nullities of sacraments by the malice of one minister, in one act only!" The Council, however, could not dissent from the previous one of Florence, which had held the intention necessary; and they accordingly, as we have seen, enjoined that doctrine to be received and believed under an anathema.

The eighth Session, therefore, held March 11, 1547, was employed only on the translation of the Council; the ninth and tenth on its adjournment, till it was regularly suspended by the Pope, September 17, 1549.

EIGHTH SESSION. As the time of the Seventh and Eighth Sessions had been wasted in going through the necessary forms for transferring the Council to Bologna, so the **NINTH SESSION** was spent in giving it confirmation, after it had assembled there.

The **TENTH SESSION**, which reckons as the second at Bologna, scarcely deserves that name. However, during the residence in that town of the few Bishops in the Papal interest, some very important occurrences took place. The promise exacted by the Emperor from the Protestant princes at the Second Session, to submit to the Council, may be reckoned as one. Although this was a false step on their part, yet it fortunately produced no bad consequences to their cause. Another, was the struggle which took place between the Pope and the Emperor, about the restoration of the Council to Trent. A third was the protest of the Emperor against the Council of Bologna, and against the illegality of the translation from Trent. And lastly, the Imperial Edict at the second Diet of Ausburg, under the title of the Interim, providing a code of ecclesiastical laws, until the long-wished for decision of a Council could be obtained, which would redress existing evils. Opposition was made to the establishment of this Edict, which, to the disgrace of the existing Pope and Council, defined the faith of the Emperor's German subjects, agreeably to his will and pleasure.

The death of Paul III., from his rage at the defection and oppo-

sition of Duke Octavius, his nephew, occasioned the election, November 10, 1549, of Julius III. who, immediately on his elevation to the Popedom, being pressed by the Emperor to bring back the Council to Trent, issued his Bull for that purpose; where it was opened again, in September, 1551.

Nothing more can be said of the resumed meeting at Trent, than that it was opened with the accustomed forms. The Bishops present did not much exceed sixty, which was the greatest number that had yet attended. But this gave Julius little uneasiness, being too great a votary of pleasure to feel any concern about the affairs of either Church or Council.

The ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH SESSIONS were trifled away with obtaining the consent of the Bishops, of whom there were Sixty-four only in attendance, a small increase since the Tenth Session, to the re-opening of the Council of Trent. The seizure of Parma by Henry II. King of France, gave the Pope great uneasiness at this time, as he regarded it in the light of an appendage to his See. Stimulated by pride and passion, to resent this invasion of his right, he threatened that Monarch with the loss of his Kingdom, and the commerce of Christendom. Retaliation was the natural consequence of such violence. Henry not only did not send his Prelates to the Council, but ordered those who were at Rome to return home; and moreover, issued his mandate for the celebration of a National Council in Paris, within six months. Although neither would yield to the other, the firmness of the King caused the Pope to lower his tone, and to moderate his language.

In the mean time, the Emperor was urgent with the Protestants, that they should appear at Trent by their representatives. With the fate of Huss before their eyes, they could not but feel alarmed at the proposal. They, however, intimated, that they were willing to comply, provided they had a *bona fide* guarantee for their safety, and that as the Imperial safe-conduct did not appear sufficient, one resembling that drawn up at the Council of Basil, should be procured. They excused their demand on the ground of the Emperor Sigismund's safe-conduct being violated in the case of Huss; the Constantian Fathers not deeming themselves bound by it. In the last place, they required that both the past and future decrees of the Council, should be regulated agreeably to the Holy Scriptures. To a requisition of this nature, the Council feigned an assent, so far as related to the safe-conduct, but totally objected to any other

than an unconditional submission on their part. On this understanding, they drew up a passport, but in such vague and indefinite language, that even were they to act on the principle of the Constantian Decree, that *no Faith should be kept with heretics*; they could not be charged with a violation of it. *Modo redeant ad cor*, were the words which excited the apprehensions of the Protestants. They defended the qualifying clause on the principle, that if they did not insert it, it would bring them into an imitation of the Council of Basil, and on the whole, be dishonorable to the most Holy Council of Trent. But the Emperor having insisted on an unequivocal form being adopted, (by substituting *etiam si non redeant ad cor*) the Council was necessarily forced to acquiesce. But they took care, at the same time, to attach to the safe-conduct a clause, which, by limiting it to the existing occasion, shewed them to be influenced by feelings such as those, that consigned Huss and Jerome of Prague to the stake. (The very language they used, establishes this fact: "we revoke for this occasion, and for this time, whatever the decree of the Councils of Constance and Sienne contain, in prejudice of the public Faith, and full assurance allowed them"—the Protestants! Here is no further departure from the assertion of the odious principle of extermination, than circumstances compelled them to adopt at that particular juncture; while they reserved to themselves the power of resuming it, whenever the necessity for its exercise should occur.) Some vain janglings next ensued about Impanation, Transubstantiation, the Worship of the Host, and the like; and, as happened in former similar cases, without convincing, they imputed absurdities and contradictions to each other.

The Twelfth Session closed with a discussion on the questions which related to the withholding the cup from the laity, and the communion of children. But nothing was then definitely settled on these points; lest, as the Emperor said, it should offend the Protestants, and prevent the appearance of their disciples at the Council.

In the Thirteenth Session, the Council lays down the doctrine of Transubstantiation so authoritatively, that the person who presumes to deny, that the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of Christ, are actually ("*vere realiter, et substantialiter*,") present in the Eucharist, incurs the anathema of the Church. It further declares, "that the whole substance of the bread is changed

into the substance of Christ's body, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood." (Here it is evidently meant, that the bread only becomes the *body*, and the wine the *blood*; for so the expression, *totius substantiæ*, implies.)

Another anathema is pronounced against those who deny this *total* change of both species. Other anathemas were levelled at the deniers of either containing the whole body of Christ: or that his body did not remain after communion; or that the Eucharist only wrought forgiveness of sins; or that the Host should not receive the worship of Latria, and be carried about in procession; or that it should not be carried to the sick; or that Christ is not really (corporaliter) eaten. Twelve anathemas in all, were the sanction given to the maintenance of this monstrous doctrine. The Protestants commented severely on the palpable contradictions which presented themselves in the language of the first, second, and fourth articles: observing, that while the Council declared the impossibility of suitably expressing the manner of Christ's real presence in the Sacrament; it pronounced that manner to be *convenienter, proprie et aptissime*, called Transubstantiation! It must be recollected, that this Canon was decreed under Julius III. as it will be necessary to compare it with the Canon on Half-Communion, decreed at a subsequent Session under Pope Pius IV. The comparison, as we shall presently see, will exhibit infallibility in opposition to itself.

The Council reserved some points connected with the corporeal presence, and the doctrine of penance for future consideration; and *suo motu* granted the plenary safe-conduct to all, who appeared before them, which they had, with such reluctance, previously promised to the Emperor.

Embassadors from some of the Protestant princes appeared at this Session, with Confessions of Faith; but having refused to present them in the name of the Pope, the matter was referred to Rome for advice. In the answer returned to the Legates, they were directed not to give up the etiquette of presentation, as to do so, would be to compromise the Papal dignity; otherwise, to get rid of their present difficulties, by breaking off all intercourse with the opposite party. The Protestant Divines consequently persevered in their refusal to attend the Council; the reserved clause of granting security, *as much as is in its power*, having filled them with doubt and distrust, in the sincerity of its professions.

The doctrines of Penance and Extreme Unction, were decreed in the *Fourteenth Session*, held November 25th, 1551; as was some modification of episcopal jurisdiction, which now bore somewhat of a reforming aspect.

On the subject of Penance and Extreme Unction, anathemas were decreed against all such as should hold them not to be truly and properly Sacraments; that the passage, *Whosoever sin ye remit, &c.* is not to be understood of the sacrament of penance, but of "authority to preach the gospel;" that satisfaction is not made by sufferings voluntarily and submissively borne; that contrition, confession, and satisfaction (acts of the person himself) are not "required for, as it were, the *matter* of this sacrament," and as "parts of penance;" that sacramental confession is not "instituted and necessary by the law of God;" that the confession of all mortal sins is "impossible or unnecessary;" that all are not bound to confess, at least once a year; that the sacramental absolution, is "not a judicial, but a declarative act."

The presiding Legate exerted all his influence to prevent the decree on these heads from being printed, or circulated, but in vain; as Germany got hold of the manuscripts, and the press soon supplied it with subject matter for censorial criticism.

At this time, the Protestants, with a perfect consistency of character, made fresh application for a safe-conduct, which should satisfy their scruples, and allay their fears. Although the proposal was at first indignantly rejected, as a gross insult to the justice and uprightness of the Council, it elicited a document far more ample and explanatory than any former one.

The Protestant Ambassadors from Saxony, Wirtemberg, and Strasburg, having dispatched to their respective courts, copies of this new instrument, repeated their solicitations for an interview with the Council. Had they consented to acknowledge the legatine Cardinal as President, this favor would be conceded to them; but as they refused this, and denied the right of the Pope to exercise any authority over its deliberations, no accommodation could take place. The Protestants, as might be expected, felt increased disgust at what was going on; while De Ranchin, a Popish writer, declares, that good Romanists abhorred it. The Pope pressed his Legates to dissolve the Council, with all possible dispatch, but added, that even its suspension would be a relief to him. This

relief he experienced at first for *two years*, but afterwards continued to enjoy it for *ten*.

In the Fifteenth Session, January 25, 1552, though the Council declared itself prepared with a decree and canons on the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of orders, nothing important was transacted, beyond appointing the next Session to be held March 19. The professed reason for delay, was, the expected arrival of the Protestant Divines, and a willingness on the part of the Council to wait for them; and it was avowed by some in the Council, "that it would not be lawful to treat with those whom the Church must consider as heretics, excommunicated and condemned, but only to instruct them if they humbly craved it, and to pardon them by favour."

In the end, the Sixteenth Session, which had been fixed by adjournment for May 1, was held by anticipation on the 28th of April, when the Council was hastily suspended, on account of the alarming progress of Maurice of Saxony, in the war which he had declared against the Emperor, while the death of Julius, March 20, 1555, put off the hopes of anything of the kind taking place to a future day.

Marcellus II. having occupied the Papal Chair only for a few days,* left it vacant for Paul IV. who next succeeded to it. One of Paul's earliest acts, was to strengthen his own interest, by adding several new members to the College of Cardinals. For ten years, the Council was interrupted, till Pius IV. became Pontiff.

At the opening of the SEVENTEENTH SESSION, January 18th, 1562, being the first of the third convocation at Trent, indices expurgatorii, came first under the review of the Council. It was then alleged, that the reigning Emperors, during the first four General Councils, prohibited the heretical works of their time, to be read; that Martin V. condemned Wickliffe's works; that Leo prohibited Luther's writings; and why, therefore, should not the Tridentine Fathers, with these precedents before their eyes, imitate their example? This condemnation of books, which were for enlightening the world with the beams of divine knowledge, was

* This was the valuable Cardinal Saint Croce. His surgeon was suspected of poisoning the ulcer he was dressing; and the enemies of his virtue are believed to have caused this crime to be perpetrated on one, who would have restored to the Papacy, the sanctity of the first ages.

the mighty work effected by the Great General Council of Trent, in its Seventeenth Session, at which one hundred and twelve Bishops assisted.

There was much discussion concerning the prohibition of heretical books. The practice of prohibiting the reading of them, had been adopted by the Church of Rome from the ninth century. Leo X. first denounced excommunication against those who read them. The inquisitors first made catalogues of such books; and Philip II. in the year 1558, first gave authority to the index or list of prohibited works, and ordered it to be printed. Paul IV. the following year, ordered that a more complete catalogue should be formed by the Holy Office, and generally received. In the index, in consequence composed, were the Annotations of Erasmus on the New Testament, (which Leo X. had approved by a brief, in 1518,) and such books as supported the rights of princes against the encroachments of the Clergy, or those of Councils and Bishops against the usurpations of the Church of Rome. Nay, this index went so far as to prosecute all books, "of what author, art, or idiom soever," printed by sixty-two printers, who were named, or by any others who had ever printed the books of heretics; so that there scarcely remained, says F. Paul, a book to be read. And thus, he further remarks, "was the foundation laid for maintaining and advancing the authority of the Court of Rome, by depriving men of that knowledge which is necessary to defend them from usurpations. In a word, a better device was never found for stultifying men, under the pretence of making them religious."

Were it not to fix the reader's attention on the frivolous occupation of the Tridentine Fathers, during some of the Sessions; the intervening ones, from the FOURTEENTH to the TWENTY-FIRST, might be passed over in this sketch, as they are but slightly dwelt on by the Historians of this Council. The most prominent feature of the EIGHTEENTH SESSION, was the disputation which took place at it, between the Portuguese and Hungarian Ambassadors, about *precedence*!

The NINETEENTH SESSION commenced with a furious contest between the Pope and the Council, which afterwards settled into a disunion amongst its members. The presentation of a remonstrance to the Council, by the French Ambassador, was the only business transacted in it.

The TWENTIETH SESSION. The points relating to communion

in both kinds, and the communion of children, which were left undecided at a former Session, were now brought forward before eighty-eight Bishops, who composed this meeting; only to experience a similar fate. The debate concluded as might be expected, with a resolution, that he who communicated in one kind, derived as much benefit as he who received in both.

With the progress of affairs at Trent, the Pope was not altogether well pleased; while his foreign relations kept him in constant fret. Anxious to ascertain how his interest stood in the Council, he set a spy over it, who was to transmit a regular account to him on the subject. And as the sword of the spirit seemed not to be powerful enough to awe the French and German Monarchs into a compliance with his will, he resolved on making a trial of the sword of the flesh.

The Ambassadors of the French and German Princes, now went hand in hand in their demand of the restoration of the cup to the laity, and in repeating their protestations against the scandalous dispensation granted for non-residence by the Pope; protestations be it remembered, made in the name of Roman Catholic Princes.) This conduct of the Ambassadors, and the report which had got abroad, that the French required divine Service to be performed in their native tongue, that Priests should marry, and that images should be removed from places of worship, were a source of fresh trouble to the Papal party. But when they heard the Council called the Pope's Council, and not that of the Universal Church, and saw a hostile spirit manifesting itself towards them, they began to think of withdrawing from Trent altogether. Some of the bolder spirits kept up the debate on the use of the cup: and with it, the Session closed. *During the Twenty-first Session*, the controversy about residence was revived, with no better than former success; in consequence of the Legates having packed the votes, and outnumbered their opponents. The Pope being alarmed, lest a prime source of his revenue should be cut off, were the power of granting dispensations for non-residence withdrawn from him, of which a flagitious use had at all times been made; directed his Legates to sooth the opposition as much as possible, and to discuss every subject fully and freely; but by all means to suppress the questions about residence; whether it were one of Papal authority, or of divine right, as the Bishops contended; but, above all things, to endeavour to break up the Council. But the Legates did not ven-

ture to put their design of dissolving the Council into execution; and so the opposition, which they excited, died away. On the question of Half-Communion, they came to a decision, in opposition to the acknowledged word of God; namely, “that although our Redeemer instituted the Sacrament in two kinds, and gave it to his Apostles, that it must nevertheless be allowed, that the *whole and entire* Christ, and a true Sacrament is received even under one kind only. (According to this placet Ecclesiæ, made under Pius IV. and reduced into four Canons, with accompanying anathemas, they decreed, under the unerring guidance of the Holy Spirit, that both Body and Blood are contained under either the bread or the wine :) and, therefore, that the Faithful are not bound, as by a divine ordinance, to receive the Eucharist under both kinds: one being as efficacious towards salvation as both.

During the discussion, both before and after this Session, great liberty was taken with the Pope’s authority. Some of the leading Bishops were even for subjecting him to the authority of the Council. But with such consummate skill did the Legates attend to his interests, that they were able to shield him from such a degradation. Some minor regulations, about the union and divisions of Parishes, &c. were made, but the Session ended without the slightest attempt at Reform.

THE TWENTY-SECOND SESSION. Before this Session commenced, a congregation was formed, by which subjects, afterwards to be submitted to the Council, were entertained. The first proposed, was the impious doctrine of the Mass. In support of it, arguments the most absurd that can be imagined, were advanced. Indeed, were it not that they are testified by Popish authority, it would seem next to an impossibility, that an assembly with any pretensions to learning, could have used them.

On this solid foundation the Fathers proceeded to lay the superstructure of the Mass. Nine Canons were decreed, with an anathema to each, establishing the necessity of a perpetual sacrifice, and setting forth that the sacrifice of the Mass was propitiatory; not only for the sins of the living, but also for those who are deceased in Christ, and are not yet fully purged.”

Christ, it was declared, “because his sacrifice was not to end with his death, in order that he might leave to his Church such a visible sacrifice as the nature of man requires, gave himself to be

sacrificed in the Church by Priests under visible signs; and that this sacrifice is truly propitiatory." Anathemas were also promulgated against all who should maintain, that the sacrifice of the mass is "only one of praise and thanksgiving, and not propitiatory;" or that it is "profitable only to him that receives it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead: or that should deny that in the words, *Do this in remembrance of Me*, Jesus Christ did ordain the Apostles Priests, and command that they and other Priests should offer his body and blood: or that should affirm, that the Canon of the Mass (the Romish Prayer of Consecration) contains errors, and ought on that account to be discontinued; or that the ceremonies used in the celebration of the Mass are contrary to piety; or that private Masses, in which the Priest alone communicates "sacramentally," the people being supposed to do it "spiritually," are unlawful; or that the Mass ought only to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; or that water ought not to be mixed with the wine."

Before the sacrifice of the Mass passed into a decree, one Ataide, a Portuguese Bishop, contended that the arguments from Scripture, in support of this doctrine, were inconclusive, it being vain to seek in Scripture what Scripture did not contain; and consequently, that those who built on any other foundation than Tradition, built a castle in the air, and strengthened the cause of the Heretics! The observation, it would appear, was not thrown away, as the Tridentine Fathers abstained from making any appeal to Scripture, but contented themselves with declaring the Mass to be a doctrine which accorded with Apostolic Tradition, *juxta Apostolorum Traditionem*.

The remainder of the Twenty-second Session exhibited the violence of party, beyond any former example, on the subject of the divine right of residence. After the question was brought forward again and again, it ultimately gave way to a symptom of Reform, which now manifested itself. The correction of minor evils was only meditated, while they professed to attend to the public voice for the reformation of flagrant enormities. This fresh proof of Papal duplicity, determined the French Bishops to receive the Decree of the Council of Constance, and to reject the authority of the Pope; while Lainez, the general of the Jesuits, as obstinately defended it.

Pius perceiving that the storm, which he was conscious was of

his own creation, was gathering thick, and lowering over his head, feigned a desire to comply with the general feeling. He published reforming decrees; but no benefit could be derived from them, as they did not reach the spring head of all abuses; they left untouched, the power and privileges of the Holy See.

The French Bishops, however, continued as importunate as ever in their demand. They memorialled both Pope and Council, for a redress of grievances, under thirty-four heads; including celibacy of the clergy, divine service in the vulgar tongue, and half communion; but if they failed in their object, it was not to be ascribed to any underhand tricks, but to the firmness of the Pope himself. He had the merit on this occasion, at least, of acting with manly candour, in boldly and publicly rejecting their petition. He did so, he said, on the ground, that if concession were once made, reformation would begin.

The Emperor Ferdinand continued all this time near the field of conciliar battle; alternately memorialing and remonstrating with Pope and Council. But finding nothing done in the way of Reformation, for the debates on the Sacraments of Orders and Marriage, were only kept up for the purpose of carrying on the farce, he consented to have the Council broken up, and then returned home. The Council closed its Twenty-second Session; having deferred the old question about residence, and laid aside that relating to Episcopal Institution altogether.

Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Sessions. In the first of these Sessions, held July 15, 1563, Holy Orders were decreed to be a Sacrament; to imprint an indelible character, and to convey power to retain or remit sins; and those who should deny those, and other points now decided, were anathematized. The question of the divine, or the derived right of Bishops was waived: and, on the other disputed subject of residence, the Council, after ten months deliberation and debate, and after sending various embassies and despatches to the Pope and all the leading Princes of Europe, came to the momentous decision, "that not to reside is sinful, where there is not a lawful cause to the contrary!"

After decreeing Marriage to be one of the Seven Sacraments, for no better reason, than that Peter Lombard had taken a fancy to that number, the Council employed itself, in its *Twenty-fourth Session*, held Nov. 11, 1563, on frivolous questions, relating to

clandestine marriages, and the reformation of monasteries and nunneries; the duties of Canonries, Chapters, &c., whilst marriage was declared, to be "a true and proper Sacrament." But it was also declared, that it is "better and happier to abide in virginity or celibacy than to marry;" and that "churchmen in holy orders, or regulars, who have professed chastity," may not contract marriage; and that, if they do, their marriage is void. Anathemas were pronounced against such as should deny these positions, or that marriage not consummated, is dissolved by a religious vow of one of the parties.

F. Paul's statement of the policy of prohibiting marriage to the clergy may deserve to be transcribed. "It is plain," he says, "that married Priests will turn their affections and love to their wives and children, and by consequence to their house and country: so that the strict dependence of the Clergy on the Apostolic See would cease. Thus granting marriage to Priests would destroy the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and leave the Pope Bishop of Rome only."

It appears, that the restrictions upon marriage, on the ground of relationship, had been carried much further in preceding ages than they were at the period of the Council of Trent. The prohibition had been extended to the seventh degree of consanguinity or affinity, and applied to the imaginary relationships formed by engaging as sponsors in baptism, as well as to those which have a natural foundation. But Pope Innocent III. limited it to the fourth degree, alleging such notable reasons as these, that there were but four elements in nature, and four humours in man's body!

The Council was now precipitating fast to its termination, being composed principally of Spanish and Italian Bishops, after the retreat of the German and French ones, the latter of whom returned at the end of the last Session. The pope having fallen sick, a resolution was come to by the Council, to require his immediate confirmation of its decrees.

The TWENTY-FIFTH OR LAST SESSION, Dec. 3, 4, 1563. The concluding Session of the Council was full of tumult and discord, occasioned by the desire of the Gallican Bishops to make the Episcopacy independent of the Pope. They again maintained, that it was established by divine right, while the Legates contended, that it was an emanation from the chief Bishop, who, as Christ's Vicar, was authorized to regulate it according to his pleasure: this doc-

trine found in the Jesuit Lainez particularly, a warm supporter. But with such art and intrigue did the Pope and his partizans act in the whole affair, that they wearied into a compliance with their wishes even those who held out longest against them; such as the Cardinal of Lorrain, and those French Bishops who remained with him at Trent. The balance of forty thousand crowns due to the French Monarch, and paid him by the Pope at this critical period, contributed not a little to this result; as it led to the moderation latterly observed by his Ambassadors and Prelates, on the subject of Reformation.

The Council having at length surmounted all difficulties, hastened forward with accelerated pace to dispatch the business which remained undone. Its first act was to frame some regulations for the monastic orders, and then to send them back to the unrestrained indulgence of luxurious ease or sensual enjoyment. It next deliberated on some important articles, such as purgatory, the invocation of saints, and indulgences.

On some of these heads, though all now "aimed at avoiding difficulties," the different parties could not agree, and they were forced to pass over some points, in words that would express the sentiments in which they concurred, without contradicting those in which they differed. Concerning purgatory, it was thought, that enough was implied in what had been taught concerning the utility of the Sacrifice of the Mass to the departed, and what was expected to be declared concerning the duty of praying for them. The decree therefore did little else than ordain, that such "Masses, Prayers, Alms, and other works of piety as were customarily performed by the faithful here for the faithful that are departed, be offered with piety and devotion, according to the usages of the Church;" and then guard against abuses and too curious inquiries connected with the subject. "The Saints who reign with Christ," it was declared, "offer up their prayers to God for men;" and therefore it was pronounced "a good and profitable thing to call upon them with humility, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid, and assistance, in order to obtain grace and favour from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." It was further decreed, "that the faithful ought to pay veneration" to the holy bodies and relics of the Martyrs and other Saints: and that to the images of Jesus Christ, the Virgin-mother of God, and the other Saints, "the honour and veneration

ought to be paid which are their due." "Not that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them, for which they should be worshipped; but because the honor which is paid to them is referred to the originals which they represent." "All superstition," however, "was to be taken away, and all filthy lucre to be avoided:" and considerable anxiety seems implied in the decrees, to avoid those crying abuses upon all these points, which had raised so general a prejudice, and given the Reformers so powerful a handle against the Church of Rome.

Indulgences, the traffic of which was one of the prime causes of the Reformation, were handled with even less caution; the Fathers having maintained, that the Church always possessed and exercised the power to confer them on such as deserved a treasure of the kind. As a few days only remained to dispose of other important points, which called for serious deliberation, such as related to Fasts and Meats, the Index Expurgatorius, the Missal, Breviary, Ceremonial, and the imposition of a Catechism; they were referred to the Pope, with a request, that he would supply the wants and wishes of the Universal Church in these matters. In the last Chapter, which professed to be on general reformation, duels were prohibited under a severe penalty, whereby the rights of independent states were invaded.

When these decrees had been read, Cardinal Morone, as Chief President, granted to every one that was present in the Session, or had assisted in the Council, a plenary indulgence, blessed the Council, and dismissed it; saying, that after they had given thanks to God they might go in peace.

"It is incredible," says Pallavicini, "how much the news of the conclusion of the Council revived the Pope in his sickness, under which he, at this time, laboured, and from apprehension of the consequences of which, the Fathers had been more anxious to bring their deliberations to a close, so that His Holiness would not have been without an illness, which by expediting this happy event, had been so useful to the Church; he ordered, therefore, a solemn procession to be made next day to give thanks to God, and granted indulgences to all who should assist in it.

The Council of Trent was thus, at length, brought to a conclusion, but without producing any result calculated to gratify public expectation. Its professed object was to improve the doctrine of

the Church, by affording it a clear illustration; to renovate its discipline, and to reform its ministry. But how wide was its departure from this object, since instead of correcting, it confirmed abuses, which the wisest and best men in both the Reformed and Roman Communions have lamented.

Its professions on the subject of Reformation were hollow, and without sincerity; and its promises given without an intention of fulfilling them; yet, notwithstanding all its violated faith, want of principle, and the palpable errors and inconsistencies into which it was betrayed; and notwithstanding the arts and intrigues, the deceit and falsehood to which it had recourse in furtherance of its views; its ordinances are those which regulate the Roman Catholic Faith of the present generation. And although the spiritual guardians of that Faith are sworn to maintain generally, whatever has been delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred Canons and œcumenical Councils; yet are they specially (*præcipuè*) bound to observe what has been so done by the Council of Trent, (*usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum*) to the last gasp of life.

The authority of an œcumenical or Universal Council, rested on its being composed of deputed Prelates from all the Christian churches, impartially convened, and on its decisions being their spontaneous and free and disinterested judgments. The uniting opinions of good and wise men from all parts of the world, deliberating and deciding on Sacred Truths, without any prejudice, passion, self-interest, or over-ruling dictation, come with an impression on every honest mind, which it is difficult and rarely desirable to resist. All the blessings of superior guidance may be reasonably expected to accompany such judgments; and the most independent enquirer would regard them as adjudications which, though never superseding his own examination, would yet deservedly claim his high respect, and restrain him from any precipitate or self confident dissent.

But from the beginning to the end of its interrupted, broken, scattered, and re-united assemblages, the Council of Trent never had, and never was by its several Papal sovereigns meant to have, this sacred character. They and their Cardinals resolved, from the outset to its conclusion, that it should be wholly governed and limited by themselves: should consist only of such persons as they should invite and approve; should discuss only what they by their

agents proposed; and should decree only what they had previously determined to be the system that should be forced upon the Catholic world.

The effects of the policy of this Council, both in a spiritual and temporal point of view, are felt and deplored at the present day. Shouts and exclamations in praise of the Pope, the Emperor, the King's Legates and Bishops, were now thundered forth; while the decrees of the Council were received with deafening exclamations; that they contained "the Faith of Peter, and of the Apostles." Nor were those demonstrations of joy confined to Trent, since as soon as the report of this grand *finale* reached the Vatican, joy beamed on every countenance, while the possessors of wealthy Abbeys and Priories, those nests of conventual vice and depravity, were in transport; but more than any, did the Pope himself, feel the effects of the glorious news.

If it be desired, to form a just estimate of the character of this assembly, let its component parts be taken into account. Dudi-theus, writing to the Emperor Maximilian, gives this account; "we daily saw hungry and needy Bishops come to Trent; youths, for the most part, which did begin to have beards, (grave and sage divines,) given over to luxury and riot, *hired only to give their voices as the Pope pleased*. They were unlearned and simple, *yet fit for their purpose, in regard to their impudent boldness*. Whoever forms a judgment concerning the spirit of this Council, will discover so much ambition, as well as artifice among some of the members, so much ignorance and corruption among others; he must observe such a strange confusion of human policy and passions: mingled with such a scanty portion of simplicity, sanctity of manners, and love of truth, that he will find it no easy matter to believe, that any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost hovered over that assembly, and dictated its decrees." Indeed, not only more secularity, but more chicane and intrigue, more fierce contention, more that is opposite to all which ought to characterize a sacred assembly, whose professed objects were to investigate divine truth, and to purge the Church from error in doctrine, and corruption in manners, was found here, than in the ordinary Diets and Parliaments of mere worldly politicians; and it became so notorious, that the Legates who presided in it, continued to manage every thing in subservience to the Court of Rome, and to receive

from thence the decisions which the Council was to sanction, as to give currency to a somewhat profane sarcasm, importing, that the spirit which guided the Council, descended not from Heaven, but was periodically transmitted from Rome, by the most ordinary modes of conveyance.

None of the German, English, Swedish, or Danish Bishops attended; the French and Spanish Bishops, (the former of whom arrived only in time to sign their names) did not exceed forty, and but few came from Hungary and Poland. So that the remainder, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were composed exclusively of *Italians*, the Pope's creatures; justly, therefore, may that Assembly be termed the Italian and Romish Council of Trent.

Much, however, as is due to Vargas; to Father Paul we are most indebted, for the true picture which he has drawn of it. He, indeed, it is, who has so clearly demonstrated, that the spirit which guided it, did not descend from Heaven, but was conveyed to it from Rome, by the ordinary couriers; that this Council, so wished for by good men, for the purpose of healing schism, caused greater derangement in the Church than before, and brought the Bishops into greater servitude to the Pope, instead of conferring on them their rightful authority, which he had usurped. How admirably he illustrated the incompetence of the Council, its subserviency to the Pope, and the tyrannical exercise of the Legantine powers. The Legates proposed, (*Legatis proponentibus*) regulated, and decided, and the Legates only; with a total disregard for every other individual, however respectable for their station or character.

One observation alone, remains to be made in conclusion, that neither was the Church, (*in capite, vel in membris,*) reformed, nor justice done to the Protestants. The German Protestant Divines, it is true, appeared manfully at Trent. They appealed to the Ambassadors, and presented the Legates with their Confession of Faith. But they were dismissed in silence, and their Confession, instead of being read to the Council, was thrown aside; and yet this is doing justice to the Protestants. Can this be what is called by a Romish Bishop of the present day, a dispassionate examination of the Protestant cause, by the Council of Trent? No: never was cause more unjustly condemned, nor tried before a more cor-

rupt and iniquitous judge and jury. The Papal influence overpowered all other wisdom or religious integrity: and what suited the policy of the Vatican and its Cardinal Consistory, was fixed on every member of its Church, as their compulsory and immutable, and therefore, verbal creed—for that belief, in which the mind is allowed no freedom of choice, and which is not left to the spontaneous adoption of the judgment; but which is enforced on all as the arbitrary imposition, and dictated mandate of an irresistible and vindictive power, can only be deemed a verbal assent, very unlike the conviction of the satisfied reason, and the sincere belief of the concurring heart.

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH AND COURT OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

By the Church of Rome, as distinguished from Christian Churches of other denominations and communions, is meant that great body of Christians who, united to the Bishop and See of Rome, "profess to ground their faith upon the authority of their Church, as on a rule of faith sure and unerring." Catholics, or Roman Catholic Christians, is the only name by which the members of this Church designate themselves; but the members of other communions cannot recognize them by the name of *Catholics*, to which they are by no means exclusively entitled; and *Roman Catholics* is now that by which they are designated among us in law and Parliament. That the Church of Rome is apostolical, and was, for some centuries, a pure, as well as a true Church, Protestants readily admit; but that she is "the mother or the mistress of all Churches," or that she was, at any time, the *only true Church*, they positively deny. In the following historical view of the Roman Catholic Church, we shall consider it in its *three different states*, as it subsisted and still subsists, from the period of Constantine's conversion down to the present time.

In dating the rise of the Roman Church, as a distinct Society, from the period of Constantine's conversion, it is

evident that we consider this Church to have had, antecedently to that event, no individual or distinct identity,—having previously existed only as a branch or member of the universal church, of which Jesus Christ himself was both the Bishop and Shepherd: from this time, however, it gradually declined in its purity and attachment to the truth as it is in Jesus: henceforth it built wood, hay, straw, stubble, on the good foundation of the Gospel; departing from the simplicity and spirituality of the divine word, its apostate members “became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; and changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore.” Melancholy, and gradually dark was the condition of this Church, which, in its self-righteous delusion, exultingly challenged for itself that it “was rich, and increased with goods, and had need of nothing,” unconscious that in the sight of God it was “wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.”

The FIRST PERIOD, which may be characterized as that of its rise, reaches from the establishment of the Christian religion under Constantine, down to the establishment of the papal power, in 606, when Pope Boniface III. assumed the title of UNIVERSAL BISHOP; or 756, when Pepin, King of France, invested Pope Stephen II. with the temporal dominion of Rome, and the neighbouring territories, upon the ceasing of the Exarchate of Ravenna.

The SECOND PERIOD embraces the interval from the close of the first, down to the REFORMATION. During this time, Rome maintained a supremacy and dominion over the minds of men, to which all Europe submitted with implicit obedience. This usurped power displayed itself in an unbounded ambition, a contentious spirit, a gross imposition, and a daring persecution; it long triumphed in doing what God hath not enjoined, and in abstaining from what he had not forbidden. The establishment and long uninterrupted continuance of this power may justly be considered as among the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind.

The THIRD PERIOD refers to the decline of this tremen-

dous power, which was first weakened by the Reformation, and has, since then, gradually yielded to the influence of divine truth, and the general diffusion of knowledge among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER II.

PERIOD I. RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER.

THE progress of Christianity, during the life-time of its Divine Founder, was confined within narrow bounds: the Holy Land, was alone the scene of his labours, and of his life and death. No sooner, however, had he ascended to his throne in heaven, than, in the plenitude of his divine power and grace, he sent his Holy Spirit to qualify his Apostles to be the heralds of his glorious Gospel to the whole world. In the execution of their mission they encountered various difficulties; exposed to poverty, humiliation, and persecution, they always realized the prediction of their Master, that they were sent as sheep among wolves. Those who succeeded them in the ministry of God's word, succeeded also to the sufferings as well as to the glory of their mission. History records that numbers were torn with whips, till their veins and arteries were laid open; others were condemned to be devoured by wild beasts; many were scorched with hot plates of brass, by which their bodies were so contracted and wounded as no longer to retain their human shape; others were broiled alive over a slow fire; and all suffered by the most appalling cruelties. The hand of power, however, could not crush them, nor the fear of death arrest their zeal; in due time, the once infant Church had daily added to its numbers, character, wealth, rank, and influence; so much so as to excite the apprehensions both of the priesthood and magistracy, who

endeavoured to suppress them by the most cruel persecutions.* These persecutions were renewed at intervals, during the reigns of the pagan Emperors, with more or less of severity; but it was in vain for their enemies to kindle and rekindle the flames of persecution; like the children of Israel in the days of Pharaoh, "the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew," until they diffused themselves through all ranks of society, and acquired such an influence even in matters of state and government, as materially to assist or depress the various competitors for the Roman empire.

The extraordinary occurrences of the life of the Emperor Constantine produced an entire change in the whole of the Christian profession. Its friends were now no longer called to endure patiently the hatred of the world, to take up their cross, and press after a conformity to Christ in his sufferings, and through much tribulation to enter his kingdom. So long as the Christians were persecuted by the heathen on account of their faith and practices, they were driven to the Gospel as their only source of consolation and support; but such is the depravity of human nature, that, as they enjoyed any intervals from persecution, they soon became profligate in their morals, and litigious in their tempers. But now that the re-

* The first of the ten persecutions of the Primitive Christians, which have been ingeniously paralleled with the ten plagues of Egypt, and the ten horns of the Apocalypse, was set on foot by the tyrant Nero, A. D. 64. The second persecution raged against the Christians, under the Emperor Domitian, towards the end of the year 95. The third persecution, under Trajan, took place, A. D. 107. The fourth is referred, by some, to the reign of Adrian, by others, to that of Antoninus, A. D. 167. The fifth was endured under Septimius Severus, A. D. 202. The sixth, under Maximin, A. D. 235; the seventh, under Decius, A. D. 249; the eighth, under Valerian, A. D. 257; the ninth, under Aurelian, A. D. 273; the tenth, the last, yet severest, which the Christians had to undergo, under Diocletian, A. D. 302. There was no species of torture which was not inflicted on them. To die by the sword was considered an alleviation of punishment, compared to crucifixion, burning, impalement, and flaying alive;—the ordinary modes of destroying the unhappy victims of the tyrants' hatred. Their sufferings, however, terminated on the conversion of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity.

straint was wholly taken off by Constantine, the Churches endowed, and riches and honours liberally conferred on the Clergy; when he authorized them to sit as judges upon the consciences and faith of others, he confirmed them in the spirit of this world,—the spirit of pride, avarice, domination, and ambition; the indulgence of which has, in all ages, proved fatal to the purity, peace, and happiness of the kingdom of Christ. Now they began to new-model the Christian Church, the government of which was, as far as possible, arranged conformably to the government of the State. The Emperor himself assumed the title of Bishop, and claimed the power of regulating its external affairs; and he and his successors convened Councils, in which they presided, and determined all matters of discipline. The Bishops corresponded to those Magistrates whose jurisdiction was confined to single cities; the Metropolitans to the Proconsuls or Presidents of provinces; the Primates to the Emperor's Vicars, each of whom governed one of the imperial provinces. This constitution of things was an entire departure from the order of worship established under divine direction, by the Apostles of Christ in the primitive Churches. In fact, scarcely any two things could be more dissimilar than was the simplicity of the Gospel dispensation, from the hierarchy established under Constantine the Great.

During the former period of the Christian Church, its Bishops and Pastors were so far from being in a situation to acquire worldly power or wealth, that they were always in a depressed state, and often exposed to violent and cruel persecution. It may be presumed that the Bishops of Rome had a large share in these calamities, from being placed under the immediate eye of a government hostile to them; and, by their residence in the capital, being marked objects for the adversaries of the new religion. In this state of things it may reasonably be believed that they were, as they are reported to have been, for the most part, truly pious and exemplary; for such is usually the effect of adversity on human conduct. But when, under Constantine, Christianity became the predominant religion of the Roman empire, when it was protected

by the civil power, and its ministers were rendered capable of possessing property in right of their Churches, and of acquiring that personal importance which is attached to property, human passions began immediately to operate; and these situations, which had before perhaps been the posts of difficulty and danger, now became objects of ambition.

The early Bishops were usually the most experienced of the age,—chosen by the nearest Prelates, with the advice of the Clergy and people of the vacant See. They lived poorly, at least frugally; some worked with their own hands; many, being taken from a monastic life, continued its habits; they thought that the Clergy and Prelates should not be distinguished from the people by their temporal conveniences, but by their assiduity in teaching, correcting, and relieving them. Entirely occupied with their functions, they did not care how they were lodged or clothed. Their occupation was prayer, instruction, and correction. They did nothing important without consulting their Clergy; and they met in Council to regulate their general affairs. The temporal prosperity under Constantine, however, soon corrupted these Christian Prelates, and they began to look upon their dignity not as an employment, in which they ought to be examples of virtue, but as the means of their maintenance; not as a ministry, of which they must give an account, but as an irresponsible magistracy. It cannot be a subject of surprise, therefore, that when Christianity had been corrupted, the Bishop of Rome began to be distinguished by a pre-eminence over other Prelates.

During the two first centuries, the pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome was a pre-eminence of order and association, and not of power and authority; such as that of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, was in the African Churches; which diminished in nothing the equality that subsisted among all the African Bishops, invalidated in no instance their rights and liberties, but gave only to Cyprian, as the president of their general assemblies, a power of calling Councils, of presiding in them, and of executing, in short, such offices as the order and purposes of these ecclesiastical meetings required. Now, however, a great variety of causes contributed to estab-

lish this superiority ; but chiefly that grandeur and opulence, by which too many professors of Christianity form ideas of pre-eminence and dignity, and which they generally confound with the reasons of a just and legal authority.

When the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches sprung up, Anicetus, the then Bishop of Rome, exercised no supremacy, but treated Polycarp as an equal and a brother. When Victor I. excommunicated the Churches of Asia, for refusing to follow the Roman method of celebrating Easter, the rejection of his authority affords a convincing proof that Papal Supremacy was then unknown. The pride and affectation of superiority of Stephen, in 258, drew on him the contempt of his opponents and of all impartial men. Other Bishops would not acknowledge him for their judge : for advice given in friendship and confidence implies no jurisdiction. At this time the distresses of the Church did not allow Christians a building of their own, even for their religious assemblies ; much less could they enable the Bishop of Rome to live in splendour and keep a court : so that hitherto we see nothing of the dignity, office, and privileges of Cardinals. Under Melchiades, A.D. 312, on the conversion of Constantine, the Bishop of Rome began to assume that power, which gradually increased, till it issued in Papal Supremacy. Silvester, successor to Melchiades, was invested by the Council of Nice with the Primacy of those Churches, which in civil matters were subject to the jurisdiction of the *vicarius urbis*.

The Bishop of Rome henceforth surpassed all his brethren in the magnificence and splendour of the Church over which he presided ; in the riches of his revenues and possessions ; in the number and variety of his ministers ; in his credit with the people ; and in his sumptuous and splendid manner of living. A Roman historian, who lived during these times, adverting to this subject, says, “ It was no wonder to see those who were ambitious of human greatness, contending with so much heat and animosity for that dignity, because when they had obtained it, they were sure to be enriched by the offerings of the matrons, of appearing abroad in great splendour, of being admired for their costly coaches, sumptuous in their feasts,

outdoing sovereign princes in the expences of their table." The Bishops, also, assumed, in many places, a princely authority, particularly those who had the greatest number of Churches under their inspection, and who presided over the most opulent assemblies; they appropriated to their evangelical functions the splendid ensigns of temporal majesty; a throne, surrounded with ministers, exalted, above his equals, the servant of the meek and lowly Jesus, and sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes and the minds of the multitude into an ignorant veneration for their arrogated authority. The example of the Bishops was ambitiously imitated by the Presbyters, who, neglecting the sacred duties of their station, abandoned themselves to the indolence and delicacy of an effeminate and luxurious life. The Deacons, beholding the Presbyters deserting their functions, boldly usurped their rights and privileges, and the effects of a corrupt ambition were spread through every rank of the sacred order.

From what has been now observed, we may come, perhaps, at the true origin of minor or lesser orders, which were in this century added every where to those of the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; for certainly the titles and offices of Sub-Deacons, Acolythi, Ostiarii or Door Keepers, Readers, Exorcists, and Copiatae, would never have been heard of in the Church, if its rulers had been assiduously and zealously employed in promoting the interests of truth and piety, by their labours and their example. But when the honours and privileges of the Bishops and Presbyters were augmented, the Deacons also began to extend their ambitious views, and to despise their lower functions and employments, which they had hitherto exercised with such humility and zeal. The additional orders that were now created, to diminish the labours of the present rulers of the Church, had functions allotted to them which their names partly explain. The institution of Exorcists was a consequence of the doctrine of the new Platonists, which the Christians adopted, and which taught, that the evil genii or spirits were continually hovering over human bodies, towards which they were carried by a natural and vehement desire, and that vicious men were not so much im-

pelled to sin by an innate depravity, or by the seduction of example, as by the internal suggestions of some evil demon. The Copiatæ were employed in providing for the decent interment of the dead.

One of the earliest corruptions respecting the Clergy had its origin in the reverence which was paid to those among them who remained unmarried. For though the marriage of Priests was not interdicted by authority, yet those who continued in a state of celibacy obtained, by this abstinence, a higher reputation of sanctity and virtue than others. Many of the sacred order consented to satisfy the desires of the people, and endeavoured to do this in such a manner as not to offer an entire violation to their own inclinations. For this purpose they formed connexions with those women who had made vows of perpetual chastity; and it was no ordinary thing for an ecclesiastic to admit one of these fair saints to a participation of his bed, but still under the most solemn declaration that nothing passed in this commerce that was contrary to the rules of chastity and virtue. Hence arose the necessitated celibacy of the Clergy, which has entailed more disgrace, profligacy, and sin on the world, than any other source whatever.* The introduction of the mystic theology, introduced with it the system of monachism. The doctrines of this mystic science produced strange effects, drove many into caves and deserts, where they macerated their bodies with hunger and thirst, and submitted to all the miseries of the severest discipline that a gloomy imagination could conceive. To this fanatical system, rather than to the persecution of Decius, it is attributable that Paul, the first hermit, fled into the most solitary deserts of Thebais, where he led, during the space of ninety years, a life more worthy of a savage animal, than of a rational being. It was about the beginning of the third century that Anthony, an

* The early historians, Socrates and Sozomen affirm, "that marriage was allowed to the Clergy," by the Third Canon of the first Nicene Council. The Council of Gangra, in Paphlagonia, held about the year 373, condemned those Bishops who *forbade* marriage: since, to use their own words, "they admired virginity, praised abstinence, and respected retirement; but they also *honoured* marriage."

Egyptian youth, replete with monastic enthusiasm, retired from his family and friends into the neighbouring desert, there to impose on himself all the rigours of an ascetic life. In a country, and amidst a people, ripe for the contagion, the rapidity was astonishing with which it was propagated; multitudes, after his example, flocked to the Egyptian deserts, which, during the long life of their leader, became peopled with some thousands of new inhabitants, both male and female hermits: and their example was followed with such rapid success, that, in a short time, the whole east was filled with a lazy set of mortals, who, abandoning all human connexions, advantages, pleasures, and concerns, wore out a languishing and miserable life, amidst the hardships of want and various kind of suffering, in order to arrive at a more close and rapturous communion with God and angels. The Christian Church would never have been disgraced by this cruel and unsociable enthusiasm, nor would any have been subjected to those keen torments of mind and body to which it gave rise, had not many Christians been unwarily caught by the specious appearance and the pompous sound of that maxim of ancient philosophy, “that, in order to the attainment of true felicity and communion with God, it was necessary that the soul should be separated from the body even here below, and that the body was to be macerated and mortified for this purpose.”

The heresies of Manes, Beryllis, Noetius, Sabellius, Paul of Samoasta, and Novatian, had now successively afflicted the Church, imbued it with error, and torn it with dissensions. Still it was rendered successively triumphant by the fire of persecution, and a recurrence to the word of God; for many now manifested their zeal for the Holy Scriptures, by their endeavours to multiply copies of them, and that at such moderate prices as rendered them of easy purchase. These copies, widely dispersed and carefully studied, retarded the progress of error, and, for a season, retained the faith in its purity in the Christian Church.

The Council of Nice, usually termed the First General Council, being summoned by Constantine for the purpose of coming to some decision on the matters in dispute between

Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, in Egypt, and Arius, a Presbyter of the same Church, was attended by two thousand ecclesiastics, three hundred and eighteen of whom were Bishops. The decision of the Council, with great unanimity, condemned the blasphemous tenets of Arius, vindicating the true and proper deity of the Son of God. At the solicitation of his sister Constantia, when on her death bed, Constantine was induced, in the year 328, to recal Arius from banishment, and to require his reception into communion with the Church of Alexandria; this was strenuously opposed by Athanasius, who had succeeded Alexander in the See of Alexandria. Determined to carry their point, the friends of Arius accused Athanasius of various crimes, of which, though he was manifestly innocent, he was nevertheless found guilty by the Council of Tyre, by which he was deposed, and afterwards banished. Thus favoured by Constantine, who expired on the 22d of May, 337, and more particularly so by his son and successor, Constantius, Arianism became the fashionable religion at court. The orthodox Prelates were ejected from their Sees; tortures applied to those who would not subscribe the Arian creed; and not a few put to death. The spirit of true religion became gradually extinguished; degeneracy of morals soon followed corruption of doctrine, and the malice of Satan soon accomplished the degradation and depravation of the Christian Church. The short reign of Jovian, in 363, afforded to the Christian world a period of reviving triumph and victory. He patronized the orthodox faith, and protected the good Athanasius.

It is, however, matter of deep regret, that whilst the orthodox professors of Rome zealously contended for truly Christian principles, many of them displayed a most unchristian course of conduct. The following disgraceful scene, which occurred at Rome, exhibits the *professors* of the meek and lowly Jesus in a fearful light:—In the year 366, Liberius,* Bishop of Rome, having died, a violent contest arose

* Liberius willingly subscribed to the decision of the Council of Sirmium, in favour of the Arian doctrine. An excuse is set up for Liberius

respecting his successor. The city was divided into two factions, one of which elected Damasus to that high dignity,

by Delahogue, in his *Eccl. Christ.* p. 301, that he repented of his conduct, otherwise the Roman people would not have gone forth joyfully to meet him, on his return from exile. But is repentance consistent with infallibility? The moment that Liberius signed the Arian Creed at Sirmium, the pretensions of the Romish Church to infallibility were destroyed in his person. In looking upon Liberius as a frail and erring mortal, sorely tempted and beset, banished from home, friends and country, we pause before we pass a severe sentence upon him, remembering that, were we equally tempted, our faith might have failed like his. But when we view him as an *infallible Pontiff*, we are obliged to look upon his conduct in another light, and, while we commiserate the frailty of the man, to adduce it as a proof of the unfounded nature of those claims, which rest on the supposition of an *unerring* succession of infallible guides. The historians, and those strenuous advocates of Papal infallibility, Baronius (*Annal. Eccles. tom. III. ad ann. 352.*) and Bellarmine (*Disput. Theol. tom. I. p. 981.*) appear very desirous of softening down, as much as possible, this uncompromising circumstance, conscious, no doubt, that if admitted to the full extent, it would completely invalidate the pretension of freedom from doctrinal error, in the successors of Saint Peter. Bellarmine, finding the subject too difficult even for *his* jesuitical skill, sums up his arguments by remarking, that, however these things may be, Liberius *neither* taught heresy, nor was a heretic, but merely sinned in the outward act! But these palliating attempts are vain. St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, (*Op. pp. 1158. 1134—1137.*) speaks of this Papal lapse, of which he was an eye witness, very plainly and openly, not being very anxious, it seems, to screen the infallible chair. His language is very strong. “I anathematize thee, O Liberius, thee and thy companions; again I anathematize thee, and for the third time I say unto thee, O Liberius, that thou art a prevaricator.” And among other very strong terms employed, he designates the creed signed by Liberius, ‘a blasphemous creed.’ The same testimony is borne by St. Jerome, (*Chron. ad ann.;*) and indeed the candid (though Papal) historian, Dupin, (*Eccl. Hist. vol. II. 63.*) acknowledges that all the ancient authors speak of the fall of Liberius as the approbation of the heresy of the Arians.” (*Keary’s View of Papal and Concilian Infallibility, pp. 18—20.*)

Liberius was banished into Thrace, on his refusal to sign the formulary of faith which had been previously subscribed by the Sirmium Bishops. In this state of exile he continued for two years, suffering many hardships and privations. He was at length permitted to return, at the instigation of the Roman ladies, who, making a very imposing appearance, waited upon the Emperor, as he entered their city, and ob-

while the other chose Ursicinus, a Deacon of the Church. The party of Damasus prevailed, and got him ordained. Ursicinus, enraged that Damasus was preferred before him, set up separate meetings, and, at length, he also obtained ordination from certain obscure Bishops. This occasioned great disputes among the citizens, which gave rise to a dangerous schism, and to a sort of civil war within the city of Rome, which was carried on with the utmost barbarity and fury, and produced the most cruel massacres and desolations.

This inhuman contest ended in the victory of Damasus; but whether his cause was more just than that of Ursicinus, is a question not so easy to determine. Neither of the two, indeed, seems to have been possessed of such principles as constitute a real Christian, much less of that exemplary virtue that should distinguish a Christian Bishop. And this state of things continued to increase in progressive enormity, until it ultimately brought forth that system of iniquity, which has so long enslaved the greatest part of the civilized world. Notwithstanding, however, the pomp and splendour that surrounded the Roman See, it is certain that the Bishops of that city had not acquired, in the fourth century, that pre-eminence of power and jurisdiction in the Church, which they afterwards enjoyed. In the ecclesiastical commonwealth they were, indeed, the most eminent order of citizens, as well as their brethren, and subject like them to the edicts and laws of the Emperors. All religious causes of extraordinary importance were examined and determined, either by Judges appointed by the Emperors, or in Councils assembled for that purpose;

tained his consent that their venerated Pastor should return. On his return he signed the Arian formulary of faith, which he had before refused. This apostacy of the Roman Bishop had this melancholy consequence, that most of the Italian Bishops followed his scandalous example; and Arianism was rendered the prevailing doctrine by the Council of Rimini. The election of Felix to the See of Rome, by the Emperor Constantius, and the deposition of Liberius, led to a very serious schism in the Church. Felix, though a perjured Arian, was canonized by Pope Gregory XIII. in the year 1582, and is, by modern historians, placed among the Popes by the name of Felix II.

while those of inferior moment were decided, in each district, by its respective Bishop. The ecclesiastical laws were enacted either by the Emperor, or by Councils. None of the Bishops acknowledged that they derived their authority from the permission and appointment of the Bishops of Rome, or that they were created Bishops by the favour of the Apostolic See. On the contrary, they all maintained that they were the ambassadors and ministers of Jesus Christ, and that their authority was derived from above. Several of those steps, however, by which the Bishops of Rome mounted afterwards to the summit of ecclesiastical power and despotism were laid at this period, partly by the imprudence of the Emperors, partly, by the craftiness of the Roman Prelates themselves, and partly, by the inconsiderate zeal and precipitate judgment of certain Bishops. Constantine, having transferred the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium, and having there built a City called after himself, Constantinople, employed all his efforts to augment the beauty and magnificence of the new metropolis of the world, and raised up the Bishop of this new metropolis, a formidable rival to the Roman Pontiff, and a bulwark which menaced a vigorous opposition to his growing authority. For as the Emperors, in order to render Constantinople a second Rome, enriched it with all the rights and privileges, honours and ornaments of the ancient capital of the world; so its Bishop, measuring his own dignity and rank by the magnificence of the new city, and its eminence as the august residence of the Emperor, assumed an equal degree of dignity with the Bishop of Rome; and claimed a superiority over all the rest of the episcopal order.

This sudden revolution in the ecclesiastical government, and this unexpected promotion of the Bishop of Byzantium, soon excited those deplorable and bitter animosities, contentions, and disputes with the Roman Pontiffs which were carried on, for many ages, with such various success. It terminated, at length, in the entire separation of the rival churches.

It is worthy of remark that the progress of Papal power and Papal superstition have ever kept pace. The rites and institutions by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations, had

formerly testified their religious veneration for fictitious deities, were now adopted, with some slight alterations, by Christian Bishops, and employed in the service of the true God. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry, were equally to be seen in the heathenish temples and in the Christian Churches. No sooner had Constantine the Great abolished the superstitions of his ancestors, than magnificent Churches were every where erected for the Christians, which were richly adorned with pictures and images, and bore a striking resemblance to the Pagan temples, both in their outward and inward form. One of the earliest corruptions of the Church grew out of the reverence which now began to be paid to the memory of departed saints. Hence there arose a train of error and fraud which ended in the grossest creature-worship. Yet, in its origin, this was natural and salutary; he, whose heart is not excited upon the spot which a martyr has sanctified by his sufferings, or at the grave of one who has largely benefitted mankind, must be more inferior to the multitude in his moral, than he can possibly be raised above them, in his intellectual, nature. In other cases, the sentiment is acknowledged, and even affected when it is not felt, wherefore, then, should we hesitate in avowing it where a religious feeling is concerned? Could the Holy Land be swept clean of its mummeries and superstitions, the thoughts and emotions to be experienced there would be worth a pilgrimage. But it is the condition of humanity, that the best things are those which should most easily be abused. The prayer which was preferred with increased fervency at a martyr's grave, was, at length, addressed to the martyr himself; virtue was imputed to the remains of his body, the rags of his apparel, even to the instrument of his sufferings. Relics were required as an essential part of the Church furniture; it was decreed that no Church should be erected unless that some treasures of this kind were deposited within the altar, and so secured there, that they could not be taken out without destroying it. It was made a part of the service to pray through the merits of the saints whose relics were there deposited, and the Priest when

he came to this passage was enjoined to kiss the Altar. Thus an enormous train of different superstitions were gradually substituted in the place of true religion and genuine piety. This odious revolution was owing to a variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, a preposterous desire of imitating the Pagan rites, and of blending them with the Christian worship, and that idle propensity, which the generality of mankind have towards a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition upon the ruins of Christianity. Accordingly, frequent pilgrimages were undertaken to Palestine, and to the tombs of the martyrs, as if there alone the sacred principles of virtue, and the certain hope of salvation, were to be acquired. The reins being once let loose to superstition, which knows no bounds, absurd notions and idle ceremonies multiplied every day. Quantities of dust and earth brought from Palestine, and other places remarkable for their supposed sanctity, were handed about as the most powerful remedies against the violence of wicked spirits, and were sold and bought everywhere at enormous prices. The public processions and supplications, by which the Pagans endeavoured to appease their gods, were now adopted into the Christian worship, and celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in several places. The virtues that had formerly been ascribed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, to the statues of their gods and heroes, were now attributed to Christian Churches, to water consecrated by certain forms of prayer, and to images of holy men. And the same privileges, that the former enjoyed under the darkness of Paganism, were conferred upon the latter, under the light of the Gospel, or, rather, under that cloud of superstition that was obscuring its glory. It is true, that, as yet, images were not very common; nor were there any statues at all. But it is, at the same time, as undoubtedly certain, as it is extravagant and monstrous, that the worship of the martyrs was modelled, by degrees, according to the religious services that were paid to the gods before the coming of Christ. Rumours were artfully spread abroad of prodigies and miracles to be seen in certain places, (a trick often practised by the heathen

priests,) and the design of these reports was to draw the populace, in multitudes, to these places, and to impose upon their credulity. Nor was this all; certain tombs were falsely given out for the sepulchres of Saints and Confessors; the list of the Saints was augmented with fictitious names, and even robbers were converted into martyrs. Some buried the bones of dead men in certain retired places, and then affirmed, that they were divinely admonished, by a dream, that the body of some friend of God lay there. Many, especially of the Monks, travelled through the different provinces; and not only sold, with the most frontless impudence, their fictitious relics, but also deceived the eyes of the multitude with ludicrous combats with evil spirits, or genii. A whole volume would be requisite to contain an enumeration of the various frauds which artful knaves practised with success, to delude the ignorant, when true religion was almost entirely superseded by horrid superstition. It would be almost endless to enter into a minute detail of all the different parts of public worship, and to point out the changes to which they were subject. The public prayers had lost much of that solemn and majestic simplicity that characterized them in the primitive times, and which now began to degenerate into a vain and swelling bombast. The sermons, or public discourses addressed to the people, were composed according to the rules of human eloquence, and rather adapted to excite the stupid admiration of the populace, who delight in vain embellishments, than to enlighten the understanding, or to reform the heart. It would even seem as if all possible means had been industriously used, to give an air of folly and extravagance to the Christian assemblies. For the people were permitted, and even exhorted by the preacher himself, to crown his talents with clapping of hands, and loud acclamations of applause; a recompense that was hitherto peculiar to the actors on the theatre, and the orators in the forum. The Church of Christ instead of being filled with love and the fruits of the Spirit, now became a scene of the most lamentable errors. By degrees, from its riches and flow of prosperity, luxury and arrogance came into the Church. Religion began obviously to decline; virtue to be turgid; humility to depart; and poverty

and frugality to be equally a reproach. But in order to raise supplies for pomps and voluptuousness, avarice increased, and, no longer contented with its rightful property, endeavoured to invade and seize it elsewhere, to oppress inferiors, and to plunder both legally and illegally. Nor were its opinions more scriptural and praiseworthy than its practice. And these became, in succeeding ages, the source of innumerable calamities and afflictions to the whole world. One of these opinions was, that it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when, by that means, the interests of the Church might be promoted ; and the second, equally horrible, though in another point of view, was, that errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to after proper admonition, were punishable with civil penalties and corporal tortures. The former of these erroneous maxims was now of a long standing ; it had been adopted for ages past, and had produced an incredible number of ridiculous fables, fictitious prodigies, and pious frauds, to the unspeakable detriment of that glorious cause in which they were employed. The other maxim, relating to the justice and expediency of punishing error, was introduced with those serene and peaceful times which the accession of Constantine to the imperial throne procured to the Church. It was from that period approved of by many, enforced by several examples during the contests that arose with the Priscillianists and Donatists, confirmed and established by the authority of Augustin, and thus transmitted to the following ages.

When we cast an eye towards the lives and morals of Christians at this time, we find, as formerly, a mixture of good and evil ; some eminent for their piety, and others infamous for their crimes. The number, however, of immoral and unworthy Christians began so to increase, that the examples of real piety and virtue became extremely rare. When the terrors of persecution were totally dispelled ; when the Church, secured from the efforts of its enemies, enjoyed the sweets of prosperity and peace ; when most of the Bishops exhibited to their flock the contagious examples of arrogance, luxury, effeminacy, animosity, and strife, with other vices too numerous to mention ; when the inferior Rulers and Doctors of the Church fell into a

slothful and opprobrious negligence of the duties of their respective stations, and employed in vain wranglings, and idle disputes, that zeal and attention that were due to the culture of piety and to the instruction of their people; and when, to complete the enormity of this horrid detail, multitudes were drawn into the profession of Christianity, not by the power of conviction and argument, but by the prospect of gain, and the fear of punishment; then it was, indeed, no wonder that the Church was contaminated with shoals of profligate Christians, and that the virtuous few were, in a manner, oppressed and overwhelmed with the superior numbers of the wicked and licentious. Such was now unhappily the case; the age was sinking daily from one period of corruption to another; the great and the powerful sinned with impunity; and the obscure and the indigent alone felt the severity of the laws.

Innocent I., who succeeded to the Papacy in the year 402, as the successor of Anastasius I., very early endeavoured to extend the power of his See over other Bishops.

The Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, unable to withstand the increasing power of the lordly Prelate of Constantinople, fled to the Roman Pontiff for succour against his violence; and the inferior order of Bishops used the same methods, when their rights were invaded by the Prelates of Alexandria and Antioch. So that the Bishop of Rome, by affording protection alternately to these suffering Prelates, gradually added new degrees of influence and authority to the Roman See, and was thus imperceptibly establishing its supremacy.

As may be expected, Innocent conducted himself most haughtily towards those Bishops to whom he extended his protection; every where treating them with imperious pride, and claiming a superiority over them, as of divine right.

During this episcopacy in 408, Rome was besieged by Alaric, Monarch of the Goths, and his barbarous army. After experiencing all the horrors of famine and pestilence, the insolent and haughty Romans were at length compelled to seek relief in the clemency, or, at least, in the moderation, of the Gothic king.

The Senate accordingly appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. When introduced into his presence, they declared, in a more lofty style than became their abject condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity either in peace or war; and that if Alaric refused them a fair and honorable capitulation, he might sound his trumpets, and prepare for battle with an innumerable people, exercised in arms, and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay the easier it is mowed," was the concise reply of the barbarian, accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the threats of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then condescended to fix the ransom which he would receive as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome. It was all the gold and silver in the City, whether it were the property of the state or of individuals; all the rich and precious movables; and all the slaves that could prove title to the name of barbarians. "If such, O King, are your demands," said they, "what do you intend to leave us?" "Your lives," replied the haughty Conqueror. They trembled and retired.

Although Alaric abated somewhat of the rigour of his terms, yet the wretched inhabitants of Rome were obliged to purchase their deliverance at an enormous price. Failing however to fulfil their stipulated engagements, Alaric, in 409, a second time laid siege to their City. The miseries which the people had so lately endured, induced them to listen to the terms, which were prescribed to them by the Conqueror,—of placing a new Emperor on the throne,—and Attalus, prefect of the City, was advanced to that high station, in room of the weak and timid Honorius. It was not long, however, before the Ministers of the deposed Emperor violated the treaty which had been entered into with the Conqueror, by cutting off a body of Goths, at Ravenna. Under the pretext of punishing the aggressors, but chiefly with the view of gratifying his own thirst for plunder, the Gothic monarch returned to Rome in 410; and, having gained possession of the City, he delivered it up to the licentious fury of his uncivilized soldiers, who, having plundered it of every thing costly, and filled the streets

with slaughter and bloodshed, reduced a great part of it to ashes.

At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was silently opened by the slaves, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty three years after the foundation of Rome, the Imperial City, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a portion of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia. Each soldier claimed an ample share of substantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that were daily collected and consumed in the Gothic camps; and the principal warriors insulted the villas and gardens once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coast of Campania.

Thus fell that mighty City, which had long been mistress of the civilized world, and had communicated its learning and arts, its laws and political maxims, together with its monstrous corruptions, to the different nations over which it ruled.

Innocent wrote against the marriage of the Clergy, In a letter to the Bishop of Eugubrium, who had inquired "Whether the sick might be anointed with the oil of Chrism? and whether the Bishops might anoint with it?" Innocent replied that it might be lawfully used by all Priests, nay, and by all Christians too, not only in their own necessities, but in those of their friends also. Thus contradicting the Council of Trent, which confines the ministering of it to the Clergy alone; and thus plainly showing that he did not consider it as a sacrament.

To Innocent, who died in 417, Zosimus succeeded. At this time the Pelagian heresy greatly disturbed the Church, and was propagated even in Rome, by Celestius, who, attaching himself to Zosimus, obtained the protection of the Roman Prelate for himself, and his approval of his errors. Under the influence of the Emperor Honorius, Zosimus not only withdrew this sanction, but subsequently caused the doctrine of Pelagius to be condemned in a Council held at Rome. The pride and arrogance of this Prelate occasioned many bitter complaints from other Christian Pastors; notwithstanding which he was undeservedly canonized. On the death of Zosimus, in 418,

Boniface I., was called to the vacant chair ; but a schism having arisen by the election of Eulalius, in opposition to him, the Emperor Honorius interfered, and confirmed Boniface in his dignity. He was a man of moderation, and of a pacific temper ; though distinguished for his zeal in maintaining the dignity of the See of Rome. He was succeeded by

Celestine I., in 423. This Prelate attempted the propagation of the Christian religion among the Irish ; but the labours of his missionary Palladius do not seem to have been attended with much success. Succathus, whose name he changed into Patrick, being sent as successor to Palladius, so far succeeded, that he founded the Archbishoprick of Armagh, which has ever since remained the Metropolitan See of the Irish nation.

In 432, Sixtus III. was elected to the Popedom, of whom history records nothing worthy of narration.

Among all the Prelates who ruled the Church of Rome during the fifth century, there was not one who asserted the authority of the Church and the pretensions of the Roman Pontiff with such vigour and success as Leo, surnamed the Great, who was elected in the year 440. He commenced his Pontificate with claims of a most unreasonable nature ; and these pretensions of the Roman Pontiff were supported and confirmed in the year 445, by an edict of Valentinian III., which was addressed to *Ætius*, general of the Roman forces in Gaul, wherein he requires the Gallican Bishops to pay entire obedience and submission to the orders of the Bishop of Rome. He commands all Bishops to hold and observe as a law, whatever it shall please the Bishop of Rome to ordain and decree ; and strictly enjoins the Magistrates to oblige those who shall be summoned to Rome, to obey the summons. The immediate occasion of this rescript, was a dispute between Leo and the Bishops in Gaul, upon a matter of appeal. *Celidonius*, Bishop of *Besancon*, had been deposed by the unanimous judgment of the Bishops of Gaul ; but Leo, to whom he appealed, received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and restored him to his episcopal functions. *Hilarius*, who was President of the Council, no sooner heard of his restoration, than he was sensibly affected, that a man of *Celedonius's*

profligate character should be clothed with the powers of a minister of religion. He supposed that Leo had been imposed upon by the false representations of Celedonius, and that it was specially incumbent upon him, who was President of the Council, to give all necessary information respecting the grounds of their decision. With this view, he travelled on foot from Gaul to Rome, in the depth of winter; but in return for his zeal, Leo no sooner heard of his arrival, than he ordered him to be put under arrest; he degraded him from his episcopal functions, and disannulled all the decisions of the Council of which Hilarius had been President. It was in order to settle this dispute, that the rescript was published; it recognized those powers with which the Bishops of Rome were supposed to be invested, and shows that their spiritual despotism was exercised, not only over those parts of Italy which were most adjacent, but over Gaul, and all the other provinces in the Western Empire.

Two General Councils were held during this century, one of them at Ephesus, and the other at Chalcedon. In the latter of these assemblies, the Bishop of Constantinople was confirmed in the high station of one of the chief rulers in the Church, which had been assigned him by a Council held in that city in the preceding century. This Decree, which conferred on the Bishop of Constantinople the same rights and honors that were enjoyed by the Bishop of Rome, was highly resented by the latter Pontiff, as being an invasion of his superiority. But the authority of the Emperor being exerted in favour of his rival, the Roman Pontiffs were unable for some time to gain that supremacy for which they strenuously contended. They did not silently submit, however, either to the decisions of Councils, or to the Decrees of Emperors; excommunications were speedily fulminated against each other, and their mutual animosities kept both the Eastern and Western Churches in a flame for many years.

The Bishop of Constantinople contended, that as the city in which he resided was now become the seat of government, and gave laws to the world, he was entitled to the precedence of all the ministers of religion. The Bishop of Rome, on the

other hand, affirmed, that as the city of Rome had been the seat of government for more than a thousand years, and as his predecessors, in all the personal disputes among the Bishops in the East as well as in the West, had been commonly appealed to as the arbitrators of their differences; and as they had likewise had the honour of presiding in person, or by delegates, in most of the General Councils, he was best entitled to be acknowledged as head of the Church. Leo, who flourished sometime before the subversion of the Western Empire, advanced a new argument in support of his claim to the title. He contended, that the Bishops of Rome were the successors of Peter; that when Christ said to him, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church," he invested him with a supremacy over all the Apostles; and that his successors had succeeded to that supremacy. This was at that period quite a new argument, but it is one which the Roman Pontiffs since the time of Leo, have never failed to advance, when their extravagant claims are called in question.

Taking advantage of the criminal indolence of the Emperor, who, remarkable only for the sweetness of his temper, and the goodness of his heart, neglected the great affairs of the empire; and, inattentive to the weighty duties of his station, held the reins of government with an unsteady hand, Genseric, King of the Vandals, in 445, sailed from Africa with three hundred thousand warriors, for the invasion of Italy. The power of Rome had been already so much weakened, that he met with very little resistance; the gates of the city were soon thrown open; and for fourteen days and nights it was subjected to all the calamities of plunder and destruction, by a merciless enemy. Many thousands of the inhabitants were put to death, a great part of the city was laid in ashes, all the spoils and treasures of ages were carried away, and the best of its monuments destroyed. To complete the overthrow of the Western Empire, Odoacer, King of the Heruli, in 476, stripped Augustus of the imperial robes, abolished the title of Emperor, and proclaimed himself King of Italy.

Wherever the barbarians marched, their rout was marked

with blood. They ravaged or destroyed all around them. They made no distinction between what was sacred and what was profane. They respected no age, or sex, or rank. What escaped the fury of the first inundation, perished in those which followed it. The most fertile and populous provinces were converted into deserts, in which were scattered the ruins of villages and cities, that afforded shelter to a few miserable inhabitants, whom chance had preserved, or the sword of the enemy, wearied with destroying, had spared; the conquerors who first settled in the countries which they had wasted, were expelled or exterminated by new invaders, who, coming from regions farther removed from the civilized parts of the world, were still more fierce and rapacious. This brought fresh calamities upon mankind, which did not cease until the north, by pouring forth successive swarms, was drained of people, and could no longer furnish instruments of destruction. Famine and pestilence, which always march in the train of war, when it ravages with such inconsiderate cruelty, raged in every part of Europe, and completed its sufferings. If a man were called to fix upon the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most calamitous and afflicted, he would without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Theodosius the Great, to the establishment of the Lombards in Italy. The contemporary authors who beheld that scene of desolation, labour and are at a loss for expressions to describe the horror of it. “*The scourge of God, the destroyer of nations,*” are the dreadful epithets by which they distinguish the most noted of the barbarous leaders; and they compare the ruin which they had brought on the world, to the havoc occasioned by earthquakes, conflagrations, or deluges, the most formidable and fatal calamities, which the imagination of man can conceive.

Although it belongs to civil rather than to ecclesiastical history, to record the rise and fall of empires, and the dire calamities, which attend the march of invading and victorious armies, yet the subversion of the Roman empire by the barbarous nations, as we shall afterwards see, is so intimately

connected with the history of the Church, with the spread of the gospel, among the barbarians themselves, and with the rise of "the man of sin," that it seemed absolutely necessary to give a summary of the events which took place at that period.

Amidst the miseries inseparable from invading armies on the one hand, and the persecuting spirit of some of the conquerors on the other, it is pleasing to contemplate instances of disinterested virtue, benevolence, and charity, which appear in several of the Bishops throughout the empire. When Genseric pillaged the city of Rome, and carried numbers of the inhabitants captive into Africa, Deogratius, Bishop of Carthage, undertook to redeem them by the sale of all the vessels of gold and silver which belonged to the churches in that city. There being no house capacious enough to contain so great a multitude of ransomed prisoners, this compassionate Bishop fitted up beds for them in two churches, furnished them with food, and appointed physicians to attend the sick.

Amidst these commotions the claims of the Roman Pontiffs to Supremacy continued without the smallest abatement. These claims were, at first faintly, argued; but now they insisted on superiority as a divine right attached to their See, which they pretended had been founded by the Apostle Peter. However, notwithstanding their arrogant demands and extensive authority, they still remained subject, first to the jurisdiction of the Gothic kings, and, upon the retaking of Rome, to the Emperors of Constantinople.

The elevated station of the Bishops of Rome, who before the close of this century had subjected the greater part of the princes of the Western Empire to their authority, was eagerly contested for, and frequently obtained by fraud, chicanery, and the practice of what was most opposite to the spirit of the gospel. During the sixth century, the peace of the Romish Church was thrice disturbed by the contests and squabbles of the rival Pontiffs. Symmachus and Laurentius, who, upon the death of the Bishop Anastatius, had, by different parties, been elevated to the vacant see, continued for several years to assert

their discordant pretensions. After repeated struggles, Symmachus at length prevailed. He was assisted by the pen of Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, who employed in his behalf the most abject flattery, blasphemously styling him, "judge in the place of God, and vicerent of the Most High."

To so great a height indeed, had the arrogance of the Roman Bishops now risen, that Symmachus had the assurance to tell the Eastern Emperor that the dignity of a Roman Prelate was superior to that of the emperor, in proportion as the dignity of things spiritual was to things temporal. In their ambition to exercise a lordship over their brethren, too, the Roman Bishops affected to receive all appeals, that were preferred in ecclesiastical cases. These encroachments, it is true, were warmly opposed by the African Bishops, but that opposition served only to augment the pretensions of the haughty Prelates of Rome.

Felix III. was nominated by Theodorick in 526, but disturbances arising, the King promised the Romans, that, for the future, he would leave to them the right of election, still reserving to himself the right of confirmation.

During this pontificate a new order of Monks, which in a manner absorbed all the others that were established in the West, was instituted A. D. 529, by Benedict of Nursia, a man of piety and reputation, for the age he lived in. From his rule of discipline which is yet extant, we learn that it was not his intention to impose it upon all the monastic societies, but to form an order whose discipline should be milder, their establishment more solid, and their manners more regular, than those of the other monastic bodies; and whose members during the course of a holy and peaceful life, were to divide their time between prayer, reading, the education of youth, and other pious and learned labours. But, in process of time, the followers of this celebrated ecclesiastic degenerated sadly from the piety of their founder, and lost sight of the duties of their station, and the great end of their establishment. Having acquired immense riches from the devout liberality of the opulent, they sunk into luxury, intemperance and sloth,

abandoned themselves to all sorts of vices, extended their zeal and attention to worldly affairs, insinuated themselves into the cabinet of Princes, took part in political cabals and court factions, made a vast augmentation of superstitious rites and ceremonies in their order, to blind the multitude, and supply the place of their expiring virtue; and, among other meritorious enterprizes, labored most ardently to swell the arrogance, by enlarging the power and authority, of the Roman Pontiff. The good Benedict never dreamt that the great purposes of his institution were to be thus perverted, much less did he give any encouragement or permission to such flagrant abuses. His rule of discipline was neither favourable to luxury nor ambition, and it is still celebrated on account of its excellence, though it has not been observed for many ages. This new order made a most rapid progress in the West, and, in a short space of time, arrived at the most flourishing state. In Gaul, its interests were supported by Maurus; in Sicily and Sardinia, by Placidus; in England, by Augustin and Mellitus; in Italy and other countries, by Gregory the Great, who is himself reported to have been for some time a member of this society; and it was afterwards received in Germany by the means of Boniface. This sudden and amazing progress of the new order was ascribed by the Benedictines, to the wisdom and sanctity of their discipline, and to the miracles which were worked by their founder and his followers. But a more attentive view of things will convince the impartial observer, that the protection of the Roman Pontiffs, to the advancement of whose grandeur and authority the Benedictines were most servilely devoted, contributed much more to the lustre and influence of their order than any other circumstances, nay, than all other considerations united together.

Athalaric, the grandson of Theodoric, having ascended the throne on the death of his grandfather, directed that all suits of law in which the Clergy were concerned, should be transferred from the lay and secular judges to the decision of the Roman Pontiff; by this Decree, the Pope was rendered not only a judge of all causes, but his authority, as the superior

of the temporal powers, was acknowledged and confirmed. This Decree, however, was confined to civil cases, and only to the Clergy within the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff.

In 530, Boniface II. and Dioscorus were simultaneously elected, by two different parties, but the death of Dioscorus happily put an end to the growing contest. Boniface, unappeased by this circumstance, proceeded to excommunicate his deceased rival; a measure which Pope Agapetus, some years afterwards, disannulled; justly apprehending that Boniface was actuated more by passion and revenge, than a judicious zeal, or an enlightened mind. Attempting to nominate Vigilius as his successor, he provoked the hostility of the Roman Prelates; with a view to appease whom he convoked a Council, and acknowledged himself to be guilty of high treason by this attempt. Where, however, was the perpetual guidance of the Holy Spirit, as claimed by the Roman See? The death of Boniface occasioned the renewal of the greatest excesses and outrages, till, at last, the new election fell on John II., surnamed Mercurius. He was a Roman by birth; but carried his election by the most scandalous bribery and corruption. John engaged in the controversy concerning the proposition—"One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh:" but heat and passion were too much mixed up with it to allow of a dispassionate determination of the question.

A singular and irresistible efficacy was now attributed to the bones of martyrs, and to the figure of the cross, in defeating the attempts of Satan, removing all sorts of calamities, and in healing not only the diseases of the body, but also those of the mind. We shall not enter here into a particular account of the public supplications, the holy pilgrimages, the superstitious services paid to departed souls; the multiplication of temples, altars, penitential garments, and a multitude of other circumstances, that showed the decline of genuine piety, and the corrupt darkness that was eclipsing the lustre of primitive Christianity. Divine worship was now daily rising from one degree of pomp to another, and degenerating more and more into a gaudy spectacle, only proper to attract the stupid admiration of a gazing populace. The sacerdotal gar-

ments were embellished with a variety of ornaments, with a view to excite in the minds of the multitude a greater veneration for the sacred order. New acts of devotion were also celebrated. The riches and magnificence of the churches exceeded all bounds; they were also adorned with costly images, among which, in consequence of the Nestorian controversy, that of the Virgin Mary, holding the child Jesus in her arms, obtained the first and principal place. The altars, and the chests in which the relics were preserved, were in most places made of solid silver. A new method also of proceeding with penitents was now introduced into the Latin Church. Grievous offenders, who had formerly been obliged to confess their guilt in the face of the congregation, were now delivered from this mortifying penalty, and obtained from Leo the Great a permission to confess their crimes privately to a Priest appointed for that purpose. The external forms of church-government continued without any remarkable alteration, during the course of this century. But the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople, who were considered as the most eminent and principal rulers of the Christian Church, were engaged in perpetual disputes about the extent and limits of their respective jurisdictions, and seemed both to aspire at the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. The Bishop of Constantinople not only claimed an unrivalled sovereignty over the Eastern Churches, but also maintained that his Church was, in point of dignity, no way inferior to that of Rome. The Roman Pontiffs beheld, with impatience, these lordly pretensions, and warmly asserted the pre-eminence of their Church, and its undoubted superiority over that of Constantinople.

From this time till the close of the present century, the history of the Romish Church presents little worthy of notice, but the increasing wickedness and superstition of its members, especially of the Clergy, whose vices were now carried to the most enormous lengths; all the writers of this century, whose probity and virtue render them worthy of credit, are unanimous in their accounts of the luxury, arrogance, avarice, and voluptuousness of the sacerdotal orders. If, before this time, the lustre of religion was clouded with superstition, and its divine

precepts adulterated with a mixture of human inventions, this evil, instead of diminishing, increased daily. The happy souls of departed Christians were invoked by numbers, and their aid implored by assiduous and fervent prayers; while none stood up to censure or oppose this preposterous worship. The question, how the prayers of mortals ascended to the celestial spirits, (a question which afterwards produced much wrangling, and many idle fancies,) did not as yet occasion any difficulty; for the Christians of this century did not imagine that the souls of the saints were so entirely confined to the celestial mansions, as to be deprived of the privilege of visiting mortals, and travelling, when they pleased, through various countries. They were farther of opinion, that the places most frequented by departed spirits were those where the bodies they had formerly animated were interred; and this opinion, which the Christians borrowed from the Greeks and Romans, rendered the sepulchres of the saints the general rendezvous of suppliant multitudes. The images of those who, during their lives, had required the reputation of uncommon sanctity, were now honoured with a particular worship in several places; and many imagined, that this worship drew down into the images the propitious presence of the saints or celestial beings they represented; deluded, perhaps, into this idle fancy by the crafty fictions of the heathen Priests, who had published the same thing concerning the statues of Jupiter and Mercury.

Leo dying in 461, was succeeded by Hillarius, who had been much employed by his predecessors in ecclesiastical matters; so that he was perfectly versed in those maxims of policy by which successive Bishops were now erecting the ecclesiastical monarchy of the Roman See. In the very first letter which he addressed to his friend Leontius, Exarch of Arles, he insists on the dignity of his See, and the Primacy of St. Peter; and in a subsequent one he severely reprehends him for omitting to communicate with him on some points of local interest, as being an indignity offered to his See. In his attempts to invalidate the nomination of Hermes, a man of unblemished character, to the Bishoprick of Narbonne, he evidently manifested a greater regard to the interests of his

own power, than to those of religion and peace. A reference by the Bishops of Spain to the opinion of Hilarius greatly gratified the pride of this haughty ecclesiastic, who sought every opportunity to extend his own influence and authority. On his death

In 467, Simplicius was promoted to the See of Rome, in whose pontificate nothing worthy of record occurs: except that Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, assisted by the Imperial Court, earnestly sought to exalt his dignity above that of his Roman rival. At this period, every thing relative to the Church had assumed a secular character; its spirituality had declined; and its glory had departed.

To Simplicius, who died in 483, Felix II. succeeded, who trod in the footsteps of his predecessors in all ecclesiastical matters; only carrying his pride and zeal further than any before him had ventured to do; by which matters were so inflamed, between him and the Eastern Bishops, that a violent schism now broke out between the Greek and Latin Churches. On his death in 492, Gelasius I. pursued the same haughty policy; rejecting all the amicable proposals of the Greeks towards an accommodation. His successor in 496, Anastasius II., was peaceably inclined, and omitted no efforts to terminate the disputes in which Felix had been engaged; but his premature death prevented the accomplishment of his intentions.

CHAPTER III.

AT the commencement of the sixth century, the contemporary election of Symmachus and Laurentius to the See of Rome, led to such anarchy and violence, that the City became a scene of robbery and murder. On reference to the decision of Theodorick, king of the Goths, Symmachus was confirmed in the Roman See; and measures taken to prevent a recurrence of events so fatal to the interests of religion and peace, and so disgraceful to the parties more immediately concerned.

The friends and partizans of Laurentius not quite despairing of their cause, broke out into acts of open violence, accusing Symmachus of the greatest crimes. After repeated struggles, Symmachus, at length, prevailed. He was assisted by the pen of Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, who employed in his behalf, the most abject flattery, blasphemously styling him "judge in the place of God, and Vicegerent of the Most High." To so great a height, indeed, had the arrogance of the Roman Bishops now risen, that Symmachus had the assurance to tell the Eastern Emperor, that the dignity of a Roman Prelate was superior to that of the Emperor, in proportion as the dignity of things spiritual was to things temporal. In their ambition to exercise a lordship over their brethren, too, the Roman Bishops affected to receive all appeals that were preferred in ecclesiastical cases. These encroachments were, indeed, opposed by the African Bishops, but that opposition served only to augment the pretensions of the haughty Prelates of Rome.

In 514, Hormisdas succeeded, on the death of Symmachus, to the vacant chair: but with a temper and mind ill adapted to heal the wounds which the Church daily received from the ill-judged zeal of its professed friends. The efforts of the Emperor Anastatius to remove the dissension which still continued between the Western and Eastern Churches, were rendered abortive by the excessive arrogance of this Pope.

Of Pope John I., who was elected in 523, we have little to record. Being employed by King Theodorick of Ravenna on

some business of importance, he so incurred that monarch's anger, that he was committed to prison, where he died. From this circumstance he has been canonized as a martyr, and worker of miracles.

Agapetus I., son of a Priest, acceded to the Roman See in 535. At the suggestion of Justinian, the new Pope excommunicated all those Monks who refused to admit the proposition, *One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh*: at the same time that he took care to let the Emperor know, that he deemed it unbecoming in a layman to dictate in matters of faith. In reference to the permission which he sought for the Arian Clergy to retain, on their conversion to the orthodox faith, their respective ranks in the Church, the Emperor was less successful. Agapetus, being nominated ambassador by Theodotus to arrange terms of peace with Justinian, proceeded to Constantinople, where he refused to hold communion with the Patriarch of that City until he should renounce Eutychianism, and admit the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. Agapetus died at Constantinople, where also he was buried with a magnificence and pomp unknown in that City. Pope Gregory has recorded several miracles said to have been wrought by Agapetus, particularly his curing a man who was from his birth both a cripple and dumb, and who, at his command, stood up and spoke. He is honoured as a Saint both by the Greek and Latin Church. Through the interest of Theodotus, Silverius, the son of Pope Hormisdas, was chosen in 536, as the successor of Agapetus. Silverius, however, only retained his dignity undisturbed for a short period; for in the year 540, Vigilius, who favoured the Servian heresy, a branch of that broached by Eutychus, obtained the See of Rome by bribery; banished Silverius, the Bishop who had been canonically elected, and who, on the evidence of forged letters, had been accused of corresponding with the hostile Goths. Vigilius changed his opinions only *four* times. During his Pontificate the fifth General Council held at Constantinople, was assembled, in despite of the opposition of Vigilius. This Council condemned three books as heretical, against the express prohibition of the Pope. The one by Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, the

other, of Theodorus, of Mopsuesta, and the third of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus. Yet this Council is received throughout all the Church as a true and Œcumenical Council, and all its decisions were approved of by the successors of Vigilius. The Pope remaining immovable, the Emperor Justinian banished him to the Island of Proconnesus, where distress humbled him. His bribery of Belisarius, for the purpose of getting Silverius, who had been canonically elected to the Pontificate, sent into exile, and the further prosecution of his dire purpose, in having this, his unhappy rival, consigned to misery, starvation, and death, sink Vigilius to the lowest degree in the scale of human imperfection. He is said to have been murdered by Pelagius, his successor, on his way from Rome to Constantinople, and thereby to have afforded an awful instance of retributive justice.

From the vacillating conduct of Vigilius, we may infer that Papal infallibility could make no part of the faith of the Church in the sixth century: nor was the Pope regarded as the judge of controversies among the whole body of Christians. Vigilius died in 555, leaving behind him a character but ill in accordance with the high station which he occupied.

Pelagius I. succeeded, on the death of Vigilius, to the Roman See. As the personal friend of his predecessor, he was peculiarly hateful to the inhabitants of Rome; but being supported by the Emperor, Narses, the Governor, soon gained over the Clergy and Nobility to acknowledge him for their Bishop. He was, however, very strongly opposed by the Western Bishops, who formally separated from the Church of Rome. After holding the episcopacy for five years, he died, detested by the greater part of the Western Churches, who regarded him as a teacher of false doctrines.

On the death of Pelagius, in 560, John III., a native of Rome, was elected Pope, and his election confirmed by the Emperor Justinian. Of John, who died in 573, and of his successor Benedict I., who occupied the Papal chair five years, we read nothing worthy of record. At this period the Church was only distinguished by its want of unanimity, and by the prevalence of a spirit of discord, and fierce contention. Chris-

tians now began to consider the erection of temples as the means of purchasing the favour and protection of the saints, in whose honour they were erected; so that the number of these temples was almost equalled by that of the festivals, which were now observed in the Christian Church, and many of which seem to have been instituted upon a Pagan model.

Pelagius II. succeeded to the Pontificate in 578, when Rome was invested by the Lombards; on which account his inauguration took place, without the Emperor's confirmation, which was, however, afterwards granted. The attempts which Pelagius made to assert his own infallibility, and to gain over the Bishops of Istria, who had publicly opposed him, proved altogether abortive.

In the year 588, John, Bishop of Constantinople, surnamed the Faster, on account of his extraordinary abstinence and austerity, assembled, by his own authority, a Council at Constantinople, to inquire into an accusation against Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, and, upon this occasion assumed the title of ŒCUMENICAL, or UNIVERSAL BISHOP. Now, although this title had been formerly enjoyed by the Bishops of Constantinople, and was also susceptible of an interpretation that might have prevented its giving umbrage or offence to any, yet Pelagius, the then Bishop of Rome suspected, both from the time and the occasion of John's renewing his claim to it, that he was aiming at a supremacy over all the Christian Churches; and therefore opposed his claim in the most vigorous manner, in letters to that purpose, addressed to the Emperor, and to such persons as he judged proper to second his opposition. But all his efforts were without effect; and the Bishops of Constantinople continued to assume the title in question, though not in the sense in which it had alarmed the Roman Pontiff. This Pontiff, however, adhered tenaciously to his purpose, opposed with vehemence the Bishop of Constantinople, raised new tumults and dissensions among the sacred order, and aimed at no less than an unlimited supremacy over the Christian Church. This ambitious design succeeded in the West; while, in the Eastern provinces, his arrogant pretensions were scarcely respected by any but those who were at enmity with the Bishop

of Constantinople ; and this Prelate was always in a condition to make head against the progress of his authority in the East. The Gothic Princes, jealous of his growing influence, set bounds to the power of the Bishop of Rome in Italy, permitted none to be raised to the Pontificate without their approbation, and reserved to themselves the right of judging concerning the legality of every new election. They enacted spiritual laws, called the religious orders before their tribunals, and summoned Councils by their legal authority.

In consequence of all this, the Pontiffs, amidst all their high pretensions, revered the majesty of their Kings and Emperors, and submitted to their authority with the most profound humility ; nor were they, as yet, so lost to all sense of shame, as to aim at the subjection of Kings and Princes to their ghostly dominion.

To Pelagius succeeded, in 590, Gregory the Great, a person of high birth, being descended from Pope Felix II. He was both a statesman and a scholar, and had been Governor of Rome, which splendid post he suddenly resigned, and, putting on the cowl, became universally remarkable for austerity and devotion. Pelagius made him a Deacon, and appointed him his envoy to the Imperial court : at his return he again betook himself to his monastery, of which he afterwards became Abbot ; his administration, however, plainly shewed that he preferred human ordinances to the divine law : yet in those times such a man was accounted most worthy of the Papacy. Accordingly, the choice fell on him, and, refusing to accept of it, and endeavouring, both by force and craft, to evade it, he was compelled to acquiesce in the election. Under his administration missionaries were sent from Rome to Britain ; of this event the following account is given :—Being one day led into the market-place of Rome, with a great concourse of persons, to look at a large importation of foreign merchandise which had just arrived, among other articles, there were some boys exposed for sale, like cattle. There was nothing remarkable in this, for it was the custom every where in that age, and had been so from time immemorial ; but he was struck with the appearance of the boys, their fine

clear skins, the beauty of their flaxen or golden hair, and their ingenuous countenances ; so that he asked from what country they came : and when he was told from the island of Britain, where the inhabitants in general were of that complexion and comeliness, he inquired if the people were Christians, and sighed, for compassion, at hearing that they were in a state of pagan darkness. Upon asking further, to what particular nation they belonged, of the many among whom that island was divided, and being told that they were Angles, he played upon the word with a compassionate and pious feeling : he said, “ Well may they be so called, for they are like angels, and ought to be made coheritors with the angels in heaven.” Then demanding from what province they were brought ; the answer was, “ from Deira ;” and in the same humour he observed, that rightly might this also be said, for *de Dei irâ*, from the wrath of God, they were to be delivered. And when he was told that their King was named *Ælla*, he replied, that hallelujah ought to be sung in his dominions. This trifling sprung from serious thought, and ended in serious endeavours. From this day the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons became a favourite object with Gregory. He set out from Rome, with the intention of going among them, as a missionary, himself ; but the people, by whom he was greatly admired, rose almost in insurrection because of his departure, and by their outcries compelled the Pope to send after him, and recall him ; and when, upon the death of Pelagius, he was elected to the Papacy, he took the first opportunity of beginning the good work on which he was intent. Accordingly he despatched thither forty missionaries from a monastery which he had founded at Rome. When, therefore, Augustine, who was their chief, and his companions landed in the Isle of Thanet, he made their arrival known to Ethelbert, and requested an audience. The King of Kent, though not altogether ignorant of the nature of his Queen’s religion, nor unfavourably disposed towards it, was yet afraid of that miraculous power which the Romish Clergy were then believed to possess, and which they were not backward at claiming for themselves. For this reason he would not receive them within the walls of

his royal city, Canterbury, nor under a roof; but went into the island with his nobles, and took his seat to await them in the open air: imagining that thus he should be secure from the influence of their spells or incantations. They approached in procession, bearing a silver crucifix, and a portrait of our Saviour upon a banner, adorned with gold, and chaunting the litany. The King welcomed them courteously, and ordered them to be seated: after which, Augustine stood up, and, through an interpreter whom he brought from France, delivered the purport of his mission, in a brief, but well ordered and impressive discourse. He was come to the King, and to that kingdom, he said, for their eternal good, a messenger of good tidings; offering to their acceptance perpetual happiness, here and hereafter, if they would accept his words. The Creator and Redeemer had opened the kingdom of heaven to the human race: for God so loved the world that he had sent into it his only Son, as that Son himself testified, to become a man among the children of men, and suffer death upon the cross, in atonement for their sins. That Incarnate Divinity had been made manifest by innumerable miracles: Christ had stilled the winds and waves, and walked upon the waters; he had healed diseases, and restored the dead to life; finally, he had risen from the dead himself, that we might rise again through him, and had ascended into heaven, that he might receive us there in his glory; and he would come again to judge both the quick and the dead. "Think not," he proceeded, "O most excellent King, that we are superstitious, because we have come from Rome into thy dominions, for the sake of the salvation of thee, and of thy people; we have done this, being constrained by great love: for that which we desire, above all the pomps and delights of this world, is to have our fellow creatures partakers with ourselves in the kingdom of heaven, and to prevent those from perishing who are capable of being advanced to the fellowship of angels. The grace of Christ, and of his Spirit, hath infused this charitable desire into all his ministers; so that regardless of their own concerns, they should burn for the salvation of all nations, and, regarding them as children and brethren, labour to lead them

into eternal peace. This they have done through fire and sword, and every kind of torments and of death ; till through their victorious endeavours, Rome and Greece, the Kings and Princes of the earth and the islands, have rejoiced to acknowledge and worship the Lord God, who is the King of kings. And, at this day, no fear of difficulties, or pain, or death, would deter Gregory, who is now the father of all Christendom, from coming himself to you, so greatly does he thirst for your salvation, if it were but lawful for him (which it is not) to forsake the care of so many souls committed to his charge. Therefore, he hath deputed us in his stead, that we may shew you the way of light, and open to you the gate of heaven ; wherein, if you do not refuse to renounce your idols, and to enter through Christ, ye shall most assuredly live and reign for ever." The King replied prudently, and not unfavourably. Their words and promises, he said, were fair ; but what they proposed was new and doubtful, and, therefore, he could not assent to it, and forsake the belief in which all the English nations had for so long a time lived. Nevertheless, because they had come from such a distant country, for the sake of communicating to him what they thought true and excellent, he would not interfere with their purpose ; on the contrary, he would receive them hospitably, and provide for their support. Augustine and his companions were accordingly entertained in Canterbury, at the King's expense. They officiated in the church which had been repaired for Queen Bertha's use ; and it was not long before Ethelbert himself became their convert.

After such an example, their success was as rapid as they could desire ; for though Ethelbert declared that he would not compel any person to renounce his idols, and profess the new religion, having learnt from his teachers that the service of Christ must be voluntary, he gave notice, that the converts might expect his favour, as persons who had made themselves coheritors with him in the kingdom of heaven.

The letter written by Gregory to the Emperor Maurice, at Constantinople, in consequence of John, the Patriarch of that city, assuming the title of Universal Bishop, casts so much

light upon the history of that age, that we shall give our readers an extract:—

“Every man that has read the Gospel, knows that even by the words of our Lord, the care of the whole Church is committed to St. Peter the Apostle, the prince of all the Apostles. For to him it is said, ‘Peter, lovest thou me?—Feed my sheep.’

“The care and the principality of the whole Church is committed to him, and yet he is not called Universal Apostle, though this holy man, John, my fellow-priest, labours to be called Universal Bishop. I am compelled to cry out, O the corruption of times and manners! Behold! the barbarians are become lords of all Europe; cities are destroyed, castles are beaten down, provinces are depopulated; there is no husbandman to till the ground; idolaters rage and domineer over Christians, and yet Priests, who ought to be weeping on the pavement, in sackcloth and ashes, covet names of vanity, and glory in new and profane titles.

“Do I, most religious Sovereign, in this plead my own cause? Do I vindicate a wrong done unto myself, and not maintain the cause of Almighty God, and of the Church universal? Who is he that presumes to usurp this new name, against both the law of the Gospel and of the Canons. I would to God there might be one called Universal, without doing injustice to others. We know that many Priests of the Church of Constantinople, have been not only heretics, but even the chief leaders of them. Out of that school proceeded Nestorius, who, thinking it impossible that God should be made man, believed that Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man, was two persons, and went as far in infidelity as the Jews themselves. Thence came Macedonius, who denied the Holy Ghost, consubstantial to the Father, and the Son, to be God. If, then, every one in that Church assumes the name by which he makes himself the head of all good men, the Catholic Church, which God forbid should ever be the case, must needs be overthrown, when he falls who is called Universal. But far from Christians be this blasphemous name, by which all honour is taken from all other Priests,

while it is foolishly arrogated by one. It was offered to the Bishop of Rome, by the reverend Council of Chalcedon, in honour of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles; but none of them either assumed or consented to use it, lest, while this privilege should be given to one, all others should be deprived of that honour which is due unto them. Why should we refuse this title when it was offered, and another assume it without any offer at all? This man (John) contemning obedience to the Canons, should be humbled by the commands of our most pious Sovereign. He should be chastened who does an injury to the Holy Catholic Church,—whose heart is puffed up,—who seeks to please himself by a name of singularity, by which he would elevate himself above the Emperor. We are all scandalized at this. Let the author of this scandal reform himself, and all differences in the Church will cease.”

Gregory also wrote letters to his Nuncio at Constantinople, charging him, as he valued the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, to endeavour to divert the Bishop from using that *proud, profane, and antichristian* title. It was not, however, the *name* of UNIVERSAL BISHOP, but the powers which seemed to be implied in it, which alarmed Gregory. Though he did not himself assume the title, he acted as though he had possessed all these powers, when he asserted his right to receive and judge of appeals from every part of the Christian Church, and was in fact exercising that usurped right at the time he took the alarm, being then employed in revising the cause of a Presbyter, who had appealed against a sentence of the Bishop of Constantinople. It is evident, therefore, from the part which Gregory was then acting, that he was willing only to forego the title, provided none but himself were allowed to exercise the powers which it seemed to imply.

John, however, obstinately persisted in using this antichristian title, declaring that it had been bestowed upon him by a great Council, and not upon him alone, but also on his successors. Cynacus, John's successor, adopted the same pompous title, which called forth from the pen of Gregory the following remarkable words: “Whoever adopts, or affects the

title of *Universal Bishop*, has the pride and character of anti-christ, and is, in some manner, his forerunner."

The contentions of these two haughty Prelates tended greatly to augment the growth of superstition and immorality. The doctrine of Purgatory, which had been feebly taught in former centuries, was zealously maintained in this, and by none more vigorously than by Gregory himself. The wonderful efficacy of pictures and relics was loudly insisted upon; and the utmost reverence inculcated for the Virgin Mary. The esteem of celibacy so much increased, that, though the Arian Clergy of the western parts of the empire were in general married, the Latin Bishops of the Romish Church extended in some places the obligation of celibacy to Subdeacons. In short, the primitive doctrines of the Gospel were so entirely obscured by superstition, and so imperfectly understood, that great numbers began to conceive that the profession of religion was all that was necessary for acceptance with God. Provided they were enrolled amongst the sacred numbers, who sought to procure heaven by the neglect of their duties on earth, or believed they performed a full expiation for the most atrocious offences by the infliction of voluntary personal punishment, or the institution of novel rites, or added pomp to the worship of the monastery, they conceived their salvation most certainly attained.

Public worship, it is true, was as yet celebrated by every nation in its own language; but numerous additions were daily made to the simple institutions of the Christian religion, in order to enliven devotion by the power of novelty. Gregory prescribed a new method of administering the Lord's Supper, with a magnificent assemblage of pompous ceremonies, which was now dignified by the title of "the Canon of the Mass;" and Baptism, except in cases of necessity, was administered only on great festivals. Many festivals were also introduced into the Church during this century, the most considerable of which was the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin.

Gregory enjoyed a most extraordinary moral influence in his time, which he wholly directed to the object of effacing the few remaining traces of ancient literature, and introducing

monkish learning in its worst shape. "A report has reached our ears," he writes to a professor of grammar, "which I cannot mention without shame—that your fraternity expounds grammar to some persons. This is so painful to us, and yet it so vehemently raises our scorn, that it has changed all I have previously said into wailing and sorrow; the same mouth, indeed, cannot hold the praises of Jupiter and of Christ." Gregory made a public boast of his ignorance, and inveighed with such vehemence against all polite literature, that the report of his having burnt the Palatine Library, collected at Rome by the Emperors, though doubted by modern critics, receives a strong confirmation from his character. "I scorn," he says, "that art of speaking which is conveyed by external teaching; the very tenor of this epistle shows that I do not avoid the clashing of metacism, nor the obscurity of barbarism. I despise all trouble about prepositions and cases, because I hold it most unworthy to put the heavenly oracles under the restraints of a grammarian."

With such a pattern of elegance and learning before them, the Christian world had no fair chance, at the beginning of the seventh century, to escape the intellectual darkness which was setting on Europe. Gregory's books on morals were generally substituted in the room of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. Pope Theodore first gave out, that he had recovered the lost copy of that work by a revelation of St. Peter and St. Paul, and thus enhanced its value to those who from distant countries sent for it to Rome, to make it the source and standard of their knowledge; abstracts and digests of it were industriously compiled for the use of students, and Gregory became the founder, master, and leader of the barbarous schools of the middle ages.

Gregory, with all his flattery, was unable to prevail on the Emperor Maurice to second his views; and the former, as might be expected, became not a little dissatisfied with his most religious lord. Soon after this the Emperor was dethroned by one of his centurions, who first murdered him, and then usurped his crown. This wretch, whose name was Phocas, was one of the vilest of the human race,—a monster,

stained with those vices that serve most to blacken human nature. Other tyrants have been cruel from policy : the cruelties of Phocas are not to be accounted for, but on the hypothesis of the most diabolical and disinterested malice. He caused five of the children of the Emperor Maurice to be massacred before the eyes of their unhappy father, whom he reserved to the last, that he might be a spectator of the destruction of his children before his own death. There still remained, however, a brother and son of the Emperor's, both of whom he caused to be put to death, together with all the patricians who adhered to the interests of the unhappy monarch. The Empress Constantine and her three daughters had taken refuge in one of the churches of the city, under sanction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who defended them for a time with great spirit and resolution, not permitting them to be dragged by force from their asylum. The tyrant, one of the most vindictive and inexorable of mankind, not wishing to alarm the Church at the outset of his reign, now had recourse to dissimulation ; and, by means of the most solemn oaths and promises of safety, at length prevailed on the females to quit their asylum. The consequence was, that they instantly became the helpless victims of his fury, and suffered on the same spot on which the late Emperor and his five sons had been recently murdered. What should we expect would be the reception which the accounts of all this series of horrid cruelty would meet with at Rome, from a man so renowned for piety, equity, and mildness of disposition, as Pope Gregory was ? Disappointing to common feeling, decency, and obligation, this Christian Prelate sent a Nuncio to congratulate this inhuman murderer on his accession ; and even addressed him in a language which sufficiently proves the height of wickedness to which the Bishops of Rome had already arrived. " Let the heavens rejoice," says he, " and let the earth be glad ; and for your illustrious deeds, let the people of every realm, hitherto so vehemently afflicted, now be filled with gladness. May the necks of your enemies be subdued to the yoke of your supreme rule." So that were we to learn the character of Phocas only from this Pontiff's letters, we should

certainly conclude him to have been rather an angel than a man. "As a subject and a Christian," says Gibbon, "it was the duty of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government; but the joyful applause with which he salutes the fortune of the assassin, has sullied, with indelible disgrace, the character of the saint." His object in this abject behaviour was, that he might, by means of the influence of the Emperor, defeat the attempt of the Patriarch of Constantinople to assume the title of Universal Bishop. This he plainly told to Leontia, the new Empress, representing to her what blessings they might expect from St. Peter in heaven, provided they obliged the Patriarch to relinquish the title, which the Pope considered derogatory to the honour, dignity, and interests of his See. In this object he succeeded, for Phocas enacted a law, by which he prohibited the Bishop of Constantinople from styling himself Œcumenical, or General Patriarch, declaring that this title belonged to none but the Bishop of ancient Rome.

Gregory must be acknowledged to have been learned, eloquent, and a good politician: but he is accused justly of giving his imagination and passions the dominion over his understanding. Hence proceeded all his fondness for miracles, which in all his writings he very industriously propagates; whilst the doctrine of Purgatory was maintained by him as an undoubted article of faith. Of all the Popes, he is unquestionably the most voluminous writer. His Letters are in twelve Books; and his '*Morals*,' which are very unjustly called an Exposition of the Book of Job, are in thirty-four Books. He is said to have removed the soul of the Emperor Trajan from purgatory to heaven. Gregory died in 604.

Speaking of the character of Gregory, a late writer says, "To me Gregory appears to have been a man, whose understanding, though rather above the middle rate, was much warped by the errors and prejudices of the times in which he lived. His piety was deeply tinctured with superstition, and his morals with monkery. His zeal was not pure, in regard to either its nature or its object. In the former respect, it was often intolerant; and in regard to the latter, he evinced an

attachment more to the form than to the power of religion ; to the name than to the thing. His zeal was exactly that of the Pharisees, who compassed sea and land to make a proselyte, which, when they had accomplished, they rendered him twofold more a child of hell than before. He was ever holding forth the prerogatives of St. Peter ; nor did he make any ceremony of signifying, that this prime minister of Jesus Christ, like all other prime ministers, would be most liberal of his favours to those who were most assiduous in making court to him, especially to them who were most liberal to his foundation at Rome, and that most advanced its dignity and power. So much for St. Gregory, and for the nature and extent of Roman Papal virtue."

"Such," says a modern Priest of the Romish Church, in advocating this Pontiff's cause, "was the part which Gregory acted during his Pontificate. By birth a Roman patrician, he took a deep interest in the misfortunes of his country ; he was placed, by his rank and education, on a level with the greatest characters of the age, and had been early employed in the management of public affairs ; he had thus acquired the address of a courtier, with the experience of a statesman. When raised to the Pontificate, he found in the disastrous state of Rome and Italy sufficient opportunities of displaying those talents to the best advantage, and for the noblest object ; and by them he saved his country from the intrigues of the imperial court, from the weakness and the wickedness of the Exarchs, and from the fury of the *Longobardi*, then a recent and most savage horde of invaders.

"From this period, though the Greek Emperors were the nominal, yet the Popes became the real and effective, sovereigns of Rome ; and attached to it, as they generally were by birth, and always by residence, duty, and interest, they promoted its welfare with unabating, and oftentimes successful, efforts. Upon the merit of these services, therefore, and the voluntary submission of an admiring and grateful flock, rests the original and best claim which the Roman Pontiffs possess, to temporal sovereignty. But though this sovereignty was enjoyed, many years elapsed before it was avowed on the side

of the Pontiff, or admitted on that of the Emperor, and many more ages before it was fully and finally established on a solid and unshaken basis.

The German Cæsars continued long to assert their supreme dominion over the metropolis, as the capital of their empire: the Roman Barons, a proud and ferocious aristocracy, often defied the authority of the weak Pontiffs; and the Roman people itself, though willing to submit to the councils of a father, frequently rebelled against the orders of a prince. It will not appear singular that these rebellions, or, to speak more fairly, these acts of opposition to the temporal dominion of the Popes, were never more frequent than during the reigns of Pontiffs, whose characters were the most daring, and whose claims were the most lofty. In fact, from the tenth century, when the Popes began to degenerate from the piety of their predecessors, and to sacrifice their spiritual character to their temporal interests, Rome became the theatre of insurrection, warfare, and intrigue, and continued so, with various intervals of tranquillity, occasioned by the intervening reigns of milder Pontiffs, till the sixteenth century, when they resumed the virtues of their early predecessors, and by them regained the veneration and the affection of their flocks. Since that period, the Pope has reigned Pastor and Prince, an object at once of the reverence and of the allegiance of the Roman people, seldom claimed by foreign invasion, or insulted by domestic insurrection: devoted to the duties of his profession, the patron of the arts, the common father of Christendom, and the example and the oracle of the Catholic hierarchy.”*

Although Gregory did not himself assume the appellation of Universal Bishop, which, after anathematizing in his letter to the Emperor,† would have been too gross a violation of

* The reader will scarcely need to be reminded that this statement of a professed member and minister of the Romish Church, is both partial, and absolutely false. The Popes of the sixteenth century will, hereafter, be found as proud, tyrannical, and antichristian, as the worst of their predecessors. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

† “I confidently say,” says he, “that whosoever calls himself the Universal Priest, or desires to be so called, in his arrogance, is a forc-

all decency to have been borne even in this age, yet Boniface III., who succeeded Labienus, an avaricious, oppressive tyrant, the immediate successor of Gregory, did not hesitate to assume this very title; and the grant of this to Boniface's dignity, by the Emperor Phocas, in the year 606, may be said to have confirmed the ecclesiastical power of the Papal See. Thus was the primacy of the Roman Pontiff first established by a murderer; and no sooner was the imperial edict received at Rome, than this aspiring Prelate proceeded openly to show his determination to act as a lord over God's heritage. Having called a Council to meet at Rome, consisting of seventy-two Italian Bishops, thirty-four Presbyters, and all the Deacons in the city, Boniface obtained a decree, that no election of a Bishop should be deemed lawful and good, unless confirmed by the Pope, which was an explicit acknowledgment that he was head of the Church.

The succeeding Pontiffs used every method to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence which they had thus acquired by a grant from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced the annals of history. We find, however, in the most authentic accounts of the transactions of this century, that not only several Emperors and Princes, but also whole nations, opposed the ambitious views of the Bishops of Rome. Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition, of the Roman Pontiffs: and it is highly probable that the Valdenses, or Vaudois had already, in this century, retired into the valleys of Piedmont, that they might be more at liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious Prelates. Notwithstanding the opposition which was offered from the sources we have alluded to, Papal power and Papal superstition were still rapidly on the increase; historians have exhibited to us the most melancholy picture of the universal darkness and ignorance, which,

runner of antichrist." (*Lib. VI. Ess. 30.*) On the other hand, the name of *servant of the servants of God*, which he first assumed, was a manifest hypocrisy.

during the seventh and eighth centuries, had overspread all ranks of men. Even the ecclesiastical orders scarcely afforded an exception to this general description. Among the Bishops, the grand instructors and defenders of the Christian Church, the ignorance was so deplorable, that few of them could read or write; and still fewer were capable of expressing their wretched notions with any degree of method or perspicuity. The greater part of those among the monastic orders, whom the voice of an illiterate age had dignified with the character of learning, lavished their time and talents in studying the fabulous legends of pretended saints and martyrs, or in composing histories equally fabulous, rather than in the cultivation of true science, or the diffusion of useful knowledge. The want even of an acquaintance with the first rudiments of literature was so general among the higher ecclesiastics of those times, that it was scarcely deemed disgraceful to acknowledge it. In the acts of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, many examples occur, where subscriptions are to be found in this form:—"I, such an one, have subscribed by the hand of such an one, because I cannot write. And such a Bishop having said he could not write, I, whose name is underwritten, have subscribed for him."

Boniface did not, however, long enjoy the antichristian honour thus wickedly conferred upon him; he died in 608, when he was succeeded by Boniface IV. the son of a physician, and a Marsian by birth. The Pantheon, the most noble and perfect specimen of Roman art and magnificence which time has spared, or the ancients could have wished to transmit to posterity, was converted by this Pope, about the year 609, into a church; since that period it has attracted the attention, and enjoyed the patronage of various Pontiffs. Genseric, the Vandal Monarch of Africa, and afterwards Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, in this century, plundered and destroyed this now Christian temple. Constantine is represented by indignant antiquaries as the greatest scourge that ever visited Rome; and is said to have committed more excesses, and to have done more mischief to the City, during a short stay of seven days, than the Goths and Vandals, during their

repeated hostile approaches, or long established dominion. This building is now dedicated to All the Saints, the gods and goddesses of the Roman Church.

Some disturbances in England occasioned the convening a Council at Rome, by this Pope; not long after which he died with the reputation of a saint.

Of Deodatus, who succeeded Boniface in 614; and of Boniface V., who was elected in 619, after the Papal See had been vacant a year, we know nothing.

Honorius I. was elected as the immediate successor of Boniface, in 625. With a view to gain over the English Church into closer connection with his own, he complimented the Prelates of Canterbury and York, with the Archiepiscopal mantle; but he failed to induce them to conform to the Church of Rome on the subject of Easter. In the controversy concerning the Monothelite heresy, he evidently patronized it; insomuch that, at the sixth General Council at Constantinople, Honorius was publicly condemned as a heretic; and this sentence was solemnly confirmed by the following Popes, even in their usual oath of religion. In this case, what do the advocates of Pontifical Infallibility say to the conduct of this Pope? He died in 638.

Severinus, who succeeded Honorius, could not obtain the Imperial confirmation of his election, till his deputies had engaged to prevail with the new Pope to accept of the Monothelitical form of faith, published in the name of the Emperor Heraclius. Whether Severinus complied with these conditions, is a matter of uncertainty. During this Pontificate, the Lateran Palace, in which Honorius and his predecessors had laid up great treasures, was plundered by the Roman soldiers; in this violence two of the Emperor's officers are accused of being concerned.

John IV., who was elected in 640, took a decided part against the Monothelites, as did also Theodore I., the successor, in 642, of John. The controversy was carried on not only with zeal, but with bitterness and asperity. It is truly painful, in reviewing the state of the Church, at this period, to perceive so much contention, pride, and arrogance, mingling

with even zeal for the truth. True Christianity disdains such weapons, even in her own defence. She remembers that all bitterness, and wrath, and clamour, and evil speaking, are forbidden to her advocates: the weapons of her warfare are not carnal, but spiritual; and she trusts more to her own consistency, purity, and meekness, for conquest, than to the angry passions of unenlightened partizans.

In 649, the death of Theodore led to the election of Martin, whose Pontificate was one of the most disturbed that History records; as he was also one of those Popes who asserted their dignity with pride and insolence.

During the short and tumultuous reigns of the Roman Emperors, Constantine III., and Heraclianus, from 610 to 641, the Monothelite dispute had continued to disturb the peace of the Church, but when Constans ascended the throne in 642, he issued a decree commanding both sides to abandon the controversy. This proclamation might suppress, but it could not extinguish, the heated passions of the theological disputants. Sophronius, Bishop of Jerusalem, had been among the most zealous opposers of Monothelism, and had condemned this heretical opinion in a provincial Council. His endeavours were seconded by Martin, Bishop of Rome, who assembled a Council in the Lateran, in 649, composed of a hundred and five Bishops, where he ventured to anathematize the supporters of the Monothelite heresy. This proceeding filled the Emperor Constans with so much indignation, that he banished Martin to Naxos, a small island in the Archipelago, and Maximus, a Monk of the same party, to Bizyca. Whatever had been the perverseness and obstinacy of this Pontiff and his associate, humanity must recoil at their sufferings. After a captivity of more than three months, during which he was denied the comforts of suitable food, Martin was summoned before the Senate, and accused of high treason against the state. His asseverations of innocence, and the powerful plea which he exhibited of the impossibility of his committing the crime, were ineffectual. The unhappy Pontiff was loaded with chains, and ordered to be cut in pieces by the hands of the executioner. He was not, however, put to death imme-

diately; but having been thrown into successive prisons, he was exiled to the inhospitable shores of the Tauric Chersonesus, where he ended his life, amidst famine and disease, in the year 656. The Emperor himself, who had treated this Pontiff with so much barbarity, was put to death in 668.

Whilst Martin was yet living, the Romans proceeded in 654, to elect Eugenius I., whose Pontificate was short in duration, and undistinguished by any event of importance. His successor was Vitalianus, a native of Campania, who betrayed the most abject submission to the Emperor, at the same time that he manifested the most haughty and insolent behaviour towards his brethren. Of Adeodatus, who was elected in 672, and his successor Domnus, who died in 678, we have nothing to record: from which it may be inferred that they were men of quiet and peaceable habits, without energy or ambition.

With the view of restoring peace to the Church, the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, by the advice of Agatho, the Roman Pontiff, who had succeeded Domnus in 679, summoned what is called the sixth General Council to meet at Constantinople in the year 680. After eighteen seditious, this assembly confirmed the Decrees of the Romish Synods, by the condemnation of the Monothelites, and of the deceased Honorius, Bishop of Rome, by whom that sect was favoured.

To exhibit any thing like a just picture of the darkness and ignorance which overspread all ranks of men in this century would be a very painful, as well as an unprofitable task.

Over all the continent of Europe where Popery was established, they read their prayers in Latin, but though various superstitious ceremonies were added to the celebration of the Lord's supper, yet still the cup was not denied to the laity. In short, the different Fathers of the Western Church vied with each other in the invention of new superstitions, and appear to have believed that, in order to distinguish themselves as the champions of the Church, it was necessary to refuse the aid of truth and reason in support of her cause.

Nor were the sermons or homilies of this century calculated, or even intended, to illustrate the doctrines or duties of Christianity. They consisted chiefly of empty declamations upon

the miracles of the saints, the virtue of relics, the necessity of pilgrimages and penances, and above all, the great duty of subjection to the See of Rome, and of contributing to the Churches and Monasteries.

But Christianity received, at an early period of this century, a dreadful blow from the doctrines and conquests of Mahomet, the Imposter of the East, concerning whom it will be necessary now to give some account.

Mahomet was born at Mecca, a City of Arabia Felix, about the year 569. Though descended from one of the most illustrious tribes and families of the Arabians, he was, notwithstanding, reduced, by the early death of his father, to the poor inheritance of five camels, and an Ethiopian female slave.

“According to the tradition of his companions,” says Gibbon, “Mahomet was distinguished by the beauty of his person. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. With all these advantages, he was an illiterate barbarian; his youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing; the common ignorance, exempted him from shame or reproach; but he was reduced to a narrow circle of existence, and deprived of those faithful mirrors which reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes.”

At what period Mahomet formed the design of establishing a new religion in the world, is uncertain; but having met with an apostate Christian, named Sergius, and a Persian Jew, in the course of his travels upon mercantile affairs, he received from them a corrupted account of Christianity and Judaism. By their assistance, he artfully composed his doctrines to suit the prejudices of the Jews, the several heresies of the Eastern Church, and the Pagan rites of the Arabs. To a large proportion of mankind, they were rendered still more agreeable, by the full permission of all sensual gratifications, which were not only allowed to his followers in this world, but reserved for them in paradise.

Mahomet began to disseminate his opinions privately at Mecca, in the year 609. His first convert was his wife; and, after three years' labour, he gained the number of only twelve

followers. To secure them more to his interest, he brought them under a solemn oath of implicit subjection to his authority, and of abiding in the profession of his religion to the end of their lives.

The public indignation was at length so much excited against him, that he would have been put to death, if he had not made a timely escape from the place. In 622, he fled to Medina, where he was employed in the same plans of delusion, but with far greater success. Numerous converts were gained in this city, some of whom being persons of the highest rank and influence, he was, through their means, raised to be the first magistrate of Medina. Placed at the head of the affairs of this large and flourishing city, he subordinated the whole of his civil authority to his schemes of religious domination; he raised an army, of which he took the command in person, determined to gain over to his religion by the sword, all those upon whom neither his arguments nor measures of deception could prevail. In this warfare he was remarkably successful; few generals, either in ancient or modern times, have been more distinguished by the rapid succession, or the splendour, of their victories. He died in 632, only ten years after his flight from Mecca; and in the course of that short period, he obtained the sovereignty of Mecca, as well as of Medina, and was placed at the head of a powerful empire, which extended over the whole country of Arabia.

The rapid success which attended the propagation of this new religion, was owing to causes that are plain and evident. The terror of Mahomet's arms, and the repeated victories which were gained by him and his successors, were, no doubt, the irresistible argument that influenced such multitudes to embrace his religion, and submit to his dominion. But though they were dreadful conquerors, it must be admitted that they were mild persecutors; for the Christians whom they subdued were not compelled, by the penalty of death, to embrace their religion; by the payment of tribute, and other marks of humiliation and servitude, they were generally permitted to purchase the tolerance of their own faith and worship. The professors of the Christian faith, who had only a name to lose, were

rather seduced to become proselytes to the doctrines of the false prophet, than compelled by violence ; but wherever their victorious arms introduced them, his followers scattered behind them the baleful poison of their accursed principles ; so that, in almost all the countries which they subdued, the profession of Christianity drooped and died. In the field of battle, the forfeited lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of Islamism ; the females were bound to embrace the religion of their masters, and a race of sincere proselytes was gradually multiplied, by the education of the infant captives. But the millions of Asiatic and African converts, who swelled the native bands of the faithful Arabs, must have been allured, rather than constrained, to declare their belief in one God, and the Apostle of God. Mahomet's religion was artfully adapted to the corrupt nature of man ; and, in a more particular manner, to the manners and opinions of the Eastern Arabians, and the vices to which they were naturally addicted. The duties it enjoined were neither many nor difficult ; nor such as were incompatible with the gratification of every depraved appetite and passion. Christianity had, moreover, become detestable, by the bitter animosities, and cruel dissensions, that so universally prevailed among the various Christian Sects. Whoever, therefore, considers the spirit and genius of this religion, and the state of the world, at this time, cannot wonder at its sudden progress, and wide-spread reception.

Notwithstanding, however, the dark picture which we have exhibited of the state of religion in this century, there were many, chiefly in the West, who lamented over the general ignorance and superstition of the times, who laboured to make themselves acquainted with the truth, and who were faithful and zealous to transmit it to succeeding witnesses.

In the valleys of Piedmont, there were thousands of Christians who never once acknowledged the authority of the Pope, nor countenanced the errors and superstitions of the Romish Church. Of these faithful witnesses, some account will be given when we arrive at the twelfth century, by which time they became more particularly the objects of persecution by the Papal See and its adherents. Confining our attention at

present to those other Christians in the seventh century, who were not afraid to lift up their voices against the evils which they saw abounding in the Church, we offer to the reader a brief account of the Paulicians, a body of Christians who appeared in the East, about the year 660.

The numerous sects which so early contributed to the beauty or deformity of the nominal Church, were subject to constant vicissitude; but while most of their errors were to die a lingering death, the truths which they embraced, survived to much later ages. In this century, a considerable remnant of these dissentients was proscribed under the odious name of Gnostics, or Manicheans, and expelled the capitals of the East and West; stripped of wealth, of power, and, in a great measure, of learning, they were diffused among the villages and mountains bordering on the shores of the Euphrates. Their silence and obscurity had been for some time their protection; but at this period a Reformer appeared, whose zeal, while it served widely to disseminate their doctrines, provoked anew the displeasure of their enemies. Constantine, an individual sharing in the exile and poverty of his brethren, offered the accommodation of his dwelling to a deacon returning from Syrian captivity, and on the departure of his stranger-guest, received from his hand a copy of the New Testament, as the reward of hospitality. The Oriental Clergy had already concealed this volume from the inspection of the people. With Constantine it soon became a principal study, and was at length revered as affording the only certain standard of religious truth. The writings which had imparted a light so welcome to his mind, would inform him of his duty to seek its diffusion, and he was not heedless of the admonition, nor did he labour in vain.

It is supposed, and on probable evidence, that the name Paulicians, subsequently peculiar to this people, arose from their known preference for the writings of the Gentile Apostle. To the congregations scattered throughout Armenia and Capadocia, they imparted the names of the churches to which the epistles of St. Paul were addressed; and a lingering fondness for the purer ages of the Gospel, led them to discover the same

pardonable weakness in conferring the names of primitive teachers on such of their brethren as were appointed to the work of instruction. It was in the Gospels and the Epistles that Constantine and his followers sedulously studied the creed of the first believers, and it has been justly remarked, that "whatever be the success, a protestant reader will applaud the spirit of the inquiry."

It is, however, sufficiently plain, that it was the study of inspired truth, which taught them to spurn so much of the fiction and mummary of their time, and that the hope which that truth had imparted, proved their strength in the hour of suffering. To suppose that the word of God, while thus honored, would be found to leave its possessors in serious error, in the most important articles of Christian doctrine, must arise from weakness or from prejudice. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colors. An image made without hands, was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvass must be indebted for their merit and value. The miraculous relics were a heap of bones and ashes, destitute of any relation, perhaps, with the persons to whom they were ascribed. The true and vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber. The body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. "The Mother of God" was degraded from her celestial honours and immaculate virginity, and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise their laborious office of mediation in heaven, and ministry on earth. In the practice, or, at least, in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the Gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful.

In a body of instructors, whose rank scarcely admitted a distinction between the shepherd and his flock, a precedence in honor was assigned to Constantine, who, from the period of his conversion, is called Sylvanus. Nor was it until the wheat of his doctrine had been sown with its tares, (whatever they

were,) throughout the provinces of Asia Minor, that this devoted man perished as the victim of orthodox revenge. He had performed the arduous duties of his perilous mission twenty and seven years—when a royal decree sentenced every Paulician document to the flames, and such as should conceal their prohibited writings, or retain their heterodox opinions, to an ignominious death. Simeon, a Greek, appeared with his soldiers at Colonia, the residence of Sylvanus; he seized the person of the arch-heretic: placed him in the midst of his assembled followers, and, animated by the most violent hatred of their cause, announced the instant massacre of their chief as the only deed which could demonstrate the sincerity of their return to the bosom of the Church. Their filial hearts scorned the cruel overture: one only from the multitude could be found to accept of life on terms so odious. By the hand of that traitor Sylvanus fell, and the act, in a review of which another Judas might have wept, conferred an honor upon its author, which, in the esteem of Catholic writers, was scarcely second to that of David when returning from the slaughter of Goliath. But the pleasure excited by that solitary instance of apostacy was soon disturbed by the rumours which now began to circulate respecting the probable conversion of Simeon himself to the faith of the persecuted. Their patience under suffering had produced an admiration of their character, and that distinguished officer, embracing the faith which he had endeavoured to destroy, was long known as one of the most effective of the Paulician Missionaries, closing his career amid the honors of martyrdom. From this noble attachment to their faith and to their pastor, evinced by the disciples of Sylvanus, and from this conversion of his leading persecutor, we derive an amount of evidence, with regard to the scriptural piety of this people, which is hardly to be effected by less favourable statements, which are often contradictory, and always imbued with the virulence of party.

From the death of Sylvanus to the middle of the ninth century, the history of these disciples of St. Paul is that of a various effort to preserve their religious independence: and of attempts on the part of the established authorities, to convert

what might otherwise prove a dangerous example, into a beacon, to prevent any future aspirations after the freedom which they sought. But teachers and churches arose in succession, as from the ashes of the slain, and such as could sometimes extort a degree of praise even from their enemies. Justinian II., and Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the work of persecution; nor can the name of Michael I., nor even that of the humane Nicephorus, be freed from this blemish. It remained however for a woman to surpass the most ferocious of the Emperors in these sanguinary measures. The Inquisitors of the Empress Theodora explored the recesses of Lesser Asia, and, after the interval of a few years, it was their boast that "a hundred thousand Paulicians had been despatched by the sword, the gibbet, or the flame." But oppression may drive a wise man mad, nor is there any delirium so impetuous or terrible as this delirium of the wise. The massacre of a prelate, and of a magistrate, the willing instrument of his intolerant councils, had betrayed the growing disaffection, when the persecution commenced by Theodora created a wider spirit of revolt. The guards of the General of the East were then commanded by Corbeas, a soldier, whose father had perished under the torture of Catholic Inquisitors; he deserted the imperial standard, and such had been the impolitic ravages of bigotry, that five thousand of his brethren are described as sharing in his motives while they followed his example. Prudence suggested their alliance with the Saracen; but, through more than thirty years, the Paulician troops repulsed the forces of the Empire, and when Michael, the son of Theodora, conducted his legions into the fastnesses of heresy, his defeat before the walls of Samosata yielded a harvest of wealth to the victors, and, covering the imperial eagles with disgrace, laid a foundation for the ambitious designs of Chrosyochier, the successor of Corbeas. The new General, aided by his moslems, traversed the provinces of Asia, pillaged Nice, Nicomedia, Anchrya, and Ephesus, converting the cathedral of the latter city into a receptacle for mules and horses. The Emperor Basil descended to solicit the clemency of the victorious chieftain in behalf of his subjects, and would have pur-

chased it with gold, but the elated sectary aspired to the dominion of the east. Accident, at length, achieved what the Imperial legions attempted in vain; returning from a successful inroad, Chrosyochier was surprised and slain, and, as his place was not immediately filled, his followers gradually retraced their steps, until the independence of the Paulicians in the east became limited to the securities afforded by the mountain or the desert.

Their progress westward is a subject of interesting inquiry, but the number of the emigrants, and their influence on the piety of European believers, are perhaps over-rated. About the middle of the eighth century they were introduced, and by royal authority, into Constantinople and Thrace; in the latter they sustained the violence of persecution, preserved a friendly correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and were of considerable civic importance, so late as the tenth century. It was in the following age that the Emperor Alexius Commenus, appealed to their reason, their fears, and their cupidity, in the hope of restoring them to the communion of the faithful, but his decease was followed by the abandonment of every change which his influence had effected. Two hundred years later, and while their faith and manners appeared to have materially degenerated, the Paulicians, or at least communities, who, by their contempt of established customs, had acquired that designation, are found scattered over Croatia, Dalmatia, Italy, and the South of France, bound to each other by various ties, but separated alike from the Greek and from the Roman Church.

Returning to the Roman Church, we find Agatho, through the favour of the Eastern Emperor, obtaining for his successors exemption from the usual payments for their confirmation, though the right itself was expressly reserved for the Emperor. Of his successors, Leo II., Benedict II., John V., and Conon of Thrace, we know nothing. On the death of Conon in 687, there were three competitors for the vacant chair; but the influence of John, Exarch of Ravenna, prevailed in favour of Sergius I. The famous Council of Trulla having passed some decrees relative to church discipline, some of which were just,

reasonable, and prudent, Sergius refused, with indecent obstinacy, to subscribe to them, as being unfavourable to the selfish interests of the Roman Church. The Emperor having sent an officer of his court to apprehend the refractory Pope, he contrived to escape under the protection of the soldiers. He died in 701.

The progress of vice, among the subordinate rulers and ministers of the Church, was, at this time, truly deplorable; neither bishops, presbyters, deacons, nor even the cloistered monks, were exempt from the general contagion, as appears from the unanimous confession of all the writers of this century that are worthy of credit. In those very places, that were consecrated to the advancement of piety, and the service of God, there was little else to be seen than ghostly ambition, insatiable avarice, pious frauds, intolerable pride, and a supercilious contempt of the natural rights of the people, with many other vices still more enormous. There reigned also, in many places, the most bitter dissensions between the Bishops and the Monks. The former had employed the greedy hands of the latter, to augment the episcopal treasure, and to draw contributions from all parts to support them in their luxury and the indulgence of their lusts. The Monks, perceiving this, and also unwilling to serve the Bishops in such a dishonorable character, fled for refuge to the emperors and princes, under whose civil jurisdiction they lived; and afterwards, for their further security, had recourse to the protection of the Roman Pontiff. This protection they readily obtained, and the imperious Pontiffs, always fond of exerting their authority, exempted, by degrees, the monastic orders from the jurisdiction of the Bishops. The Monks in return for this important service, devoted themselves wholly to advance the interests, and to maintain the dignity of the Bishop of Rome. They made his cause their own, and represented him as a sort of God to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had gained a prodigious ascendant by the notion that generally prevailed of the sanctity of the monastic order. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that this immunity of the monks was a fruitful source of licentiousness and disorder, and occasioned the greatest part of the vices with which they

were afterwards so justly charged : such, at least, is the judgment of the best writers upon this subject. In the mean time the monks were every where in high repute, and their cause was accompanied with the most surprising success, particularly among the Latins, through the protection and favour of the Roman Pontiff, and their pharisaical affectation of uncommon piety and devotion. The heads of families, striving to surpass each other in their zeal for the propagation and advancement of monkery, dedicated their children to God, by shutting them up in convents, and devoting them to a solitary life, which they looked upon as the highest felicity, nor did they fail to send with these innocent victims a rich dowry. Abandoned profligates, who had passed their lives in the most enormous pursuits, and whose guilty consciences filled them with terror and remorse, were comforted with the delusive hopes of obtaining pardon, and making atonement for their crimes, by leaving the greatest part of their fortune to monastic society. Multitudes, impelled by the unnatural dictates of a gloomy superstition, deprived their children of fertile lands and rich patrimonies, in favour of the Monks, by whose prayers they hoped to render the Deity propitious.

In this barbarous age, religion lay expiring under a motley and enormous heap of superstitious inventions, and had neither the courage nor the force to raise her head, or to display her native charms, to a darkened and deluded world. In the earlier periods of the Church, the worship of Christians was confined to the one Supreme God, and his Son Jesus Christ ; but the Christians of this century multiplied the objects of their devotion, and paid homage to the remains of the true cross, to the images of saints, and to bones, whose real owners were extremely dubious. The primitive Christians, in order to excite men to a course of piety and virtue, set before them that heavenly state, and those mansions of misery, which the Gospel has revealed as the different portions of the righteous and the wicked ; while the Christians of this century talked of nothing else but a certain fire, which effaced the stains of vice, and purified souls from their corruption. The former taught that Christ, by his sufferings and death, had made atonement

for the sins of mankind; the latter seemed, by their superstitious doctrine, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven such as had not contributed, by their offerings, to augment the riches of the clergy or the Church. The former were only studious to attain to a virtuous simplicity of life and manners, and employed their principal zeal and diligence in the culture of true and genuine piety; while the latter placed the whole of religion in external rites and bodily exercise. The methods also of solving the difficulties, and dissipating the doubts, that often arose in inquisitive minds, were of a piece with the rest of the superstitious system that now prevailed. The two great and irresistible arguments against all doubts, were the authority of the Church and the working of miracles: and the production of these prodigies required no extraordinary degree of dexterity, in an age of such gross and universal ignorance. In the Council of Constantinople, which was called Quinisextum, the Greeks enacted several laws concerning the ceremonies that were to be observed in divine worship, which rendered their ritual, in some respects, different from that of the Romans. These laws were publicly received by all the Churches, which were established in the dominions of the Grecian Emperors; and also by those which were joined with them in communion and doctrine, though under the civil jurisdiction of barbarian princes. Nor was this all: for every Roman Pontiff added something new to the ancient rites and institutions, as if it was an essential mark of their zeal for religion, and of their pious discharge of the ministerial function, to divert the multitude with new shows and new spectacles of devout mummery. These superstitious inventions were, in the time of Charlemagne, propagated from Rome among the other Latin Churches, whose subjection to the Roman ritual was necessary to satisfy the ambitious demands of the lordly Pontiff. The number of festivals under which the Church already groaned was now greatly augmented; a new festival was instituted in honour of the true cross on which Christ suffered, and another, in commemoration of the Saviour's ascension into heaven. Boniface V. enacted that infamous law, by which the churches became places of refuge to all who fled thither for

protection ; a law which procured a sort of impunity to the most enormous crimes, and gave a loose rein to the licentiousness of the most abandoned profligates. Honorius employed all his diligence and zeal in embellishing churches, and other consecrated places, with the most pompous and magnificent ornaments ; for, as neither Christ nor his Apostles had left any injunctions of this nature to their followers, their pretended Vicar thought it best just to supply this defect, by the most splendid display of his ostentatious beneficence. We shall pass in silence the richness and variety of the sacerdotal garments that were now used at the celebration of the Eucharist, and in the performance of divine worship, as this would lead us into a detail of minute and unimportant matters.

Of John VI., John VII., Sisinius, who died within twenty days after his election, we have nothing to record, except that they lived and died. Constantine, who was elected in 710, abated nothing of the general pride and arrogancy of his predecessors. He was obliged, however, by order of the Emperor Justinian, to go to Constantinople, to confer on the Monothelite controversy, which, under the patronage of the Emperor Philippicus, was becoming a source of disquietude and disturbance. It was during this journey, that in 710, the Emperor Justinian, having met the Pope at Nicomedia, gave to the world the first example of kissing the Pontiff's foot. This act of great personal veneration became the precedent for the continued ceremony.

That corruption of manners, which dishonoured the Clergy in the former century, increased instead of diminishing, in this, and discovered itself under the most odious characters, both in the eastern and western provinces. In the East there arose the most violent dissensions and quarrels among the Bishops and Doctors of the Church, who, forgetting the duties of their stations, and the cause of Christ in which they were engaged, threw the state into confusion by their outrageous clamours, and their scandalous divisions, and even went so far as to imbrue their hands in the blood of their brethren who differed from them in opinion. In the Western world, Christianity was not less disgraced by the lives

and actions of those who pretended to be the luminaries of the Church, and who ought to have been so in reality, by exhibiting examples of piety and virtue to their flock. The Clergy abandoned themselves to their passions, without moderation or restraint; they were distinguished by their luxury, their gluttony, and their lust; they gave themselves up to dissipations of various kinds, to the pleasures of hunting, and, what was still more remote from their sacred character, to military studies and enterprizes. They had also so far extinguished every principle of fear and shame, that they became incorrigible; nor could the various laws enacted against their vices by the secular power, at all contribute to set bounds to their licentiousness, or bring about their reformation. The honours and privileges which the Western nations had voluntarily conferred upon the Bishops, and other Doctors of the Church, were now augmented with new and immense accessions of opulence and authority. The endowments of the churches and monasteries, and the revenues of the Bishops, were hitherto considerable: but, in this century, a new and ingenious method was found out of acquiring much greater riches for the Church, and of increasing its wealth, through succeeding ages. An opinion prevailed universally at this time, though its authors are not known, that the punishment which the righteous Judge of the world has reserved for the transgressions of the wicked, was to be prevented and annulled by liberal donations to God, to the saints, to the Churches, and to the Clergy. In consequence of this notion, the great and opulent, who were, generally speaking, the most remarkable for their flagitious and abominable lives, offered, out of the abundance which they had received by inheritance, or acquired by rapine, rich donations to departed saints, their ministers upon earth, and the keepers of the temples that were erected in their honour, in order to avoid the sufferings and penalties annexed by the Priests to transgression in this life,* and to escape the

* The Abbe Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 53, thus states the nature of these ancient penances:—"But to keep persons for a single penance for fifteen and twenty years, and sometimes for an entire life; to make them re-

misery denounced against the wicked in a future state. This new and commodious method of making atonement for iniquity was the principal source of those immense treasures, which, from this period, began to flow in upon the Clergy, the Churches, and Monasteries, and continued to enrich them, through succeeding ages, down to the present time. Emperors, Kings, and Princes, signalized their superstitious veneration for the Clergy, by investing Bishops, Churches, and Monasteries, with the possession of whole provinces, cities, castles, and fortresses, and all the rights of sovereignty that were annexed to them under the dominion of their former masters. Hence it came to pass that they, who, by their holy profession, were appointed to proclaim to the world the vanity of human grandeur, and to inspire into the minds of men, by their instructions and their example, a noble contempt of sublunary things, became themselves scandalous spectacles of worldly pomp, ambition, and splendor; were created dukes, counts, and marquises, judges, legislators, and sovereigns; and not only gave laws to nations, but also, upon many occasions, gave battle to their enemies, at the head of numerous armies of their own raising. The excessive donations that were made to the Clergy, thus reached an intolerable height in this century; nor do we find any examples of the like munificence in preceding times. Hence we may conclude, that these donations were owing to customs peculiar to the European nations, and to the maxims of policy that were established among those warlike people. The Kings of these nations, who were employed either in usurpation or self-defence, endeavoured by all means to attach warmly to their interests those whom they considered as their friends and clients; and, for this purpose, they distributed among them extensive territories, cities, and fortresses, with the various rights and privileges belonging to them, reserving to themselves only the supreme dominion, and main for whole years outside of the church door, exposed to the eyes of every one; then other years prostrate inside the church; to make them wear sackcloth, with ashes on their head; their hair and beards to grow unshaven; to fast on bread and water, and to be shut up, and renounce all intercourse of life—was not this to render sinners desperate?"

the military service of their powerful vassals. This then being the method of governing customary in Europe, it was esteemed by Princes a high instance of political prudence to distribute among the Bishops, and other Christian Pastors, the same sort of donations that they had formerly made to their Generals and adherents; for it is not to be believed that superstition alone was always the principle that drew forth their liberality. They expected greater fidelity and loyalty from a set of men who were bound by the obligations of religion, and consecrated to the service of God, than from a body of nobility, composed of fierce and impetuous warriors, and accustomed to little else but bloodshed and rapine. And they hoped also to check the seditious and turbulent spirits of their vassals, and maintain them in their obedience, by the influence and authority of the Bishops, whose commands were highly respected, and whose spiritual thunderbolts, rendered formidable by ignorance, struck terror into the boldest and most resolute of hearts. This prodigious accession to the opulence and authority of the Clergy in the West, began at their head, the Roman Pontiff, and spread gradually from him among the inferior Bishops, and also among the sacerdotal and monastic orders. The barbarous nations who received the Gospel, looked upon the Bishop of Rome as their chief Druid, or High Priest. And as this tremendous Druid had enjoyed, under the darkness of Paganism, a boundless authority, and had been treated with a degree of veneration, that, through its servile excess, degenerated into terror; so the barbarous nations, upon their conversion to Christianity, thought proper to confer upon the chief Bishops the same honours and the same authority that had formerly been vested in their Arch-Druid. The Roman Pontiff received, with something more than a mere spiritual delight, these august privileges; and lest, upon any change of affairs, attempts might be made to deprive him of them, he strengthened his title to these extraordinary honours, by a variety of passages drawn from ancient history, and (what was still more astonishing) by arguments of a religious nature. This conduct of a superstitious people swelled the arrogance of the Roman Druid to an enormous extent, and gave to the See

of Rome, in civil and political affairs, a high pre-eminence and a despotic authority, unknown to former ages. Hence, among other unhappy circumstances, arose that most monstrous and most pernicious opinion, that such persons as were excluded from the communion of the Church by the Pontiff himself, or any of his Bishops, forfeited, thereby, not only their civil rights and advantages as citizens, but even the common claims and privileges of humanity. This horrid opinion, which was the fatal source of wars, massacres, and rebellions without number, and which contributed, more than any other means, to augment and confirm the Papal authority, was, unhappily for Europe, borrowed by Christians, or rather by the Clergy, from the Pagan superstitions.

The irruption and settlement of the Saracens in the South, the fearful corruption of religion throughout the Christian world, and the almost universal decay of learning, exhibit a gloomy picture of the Church during the eighth century. Amidst these conflicts and delusions, the Papal power attained to an extraordinary height. The Man of Sin was revealed in his true character, and an alliance was formed between superstition and despotism, which, in succeeding ages, proved the scourge of mankind. This was effected chiefly by means of the investiture of the Bishops of Rome with civil power, their elevation to which was the effect of several unhappy circumstances, to which it will be necessary briefly to advert.

After Justinian's conquest of Rome from the barbarians in the sixth century, there was a greater change in its government than had taken place since the time in which it was founded. That ancient city, together with a portion of the neighbouring territory, was converted into a dukedom, and governed by an officer of the Emperor. The administration of the Duke was, however, so feeble, compared with that of the ancient Senate and Consuls, that it required the influence of the Roman Bishops to maintain its respectability. In this manner the duchy was ruled, till an opportunity was afforded to the ambitious Pontiff of subverting the authority of the Duke altogether, and of getting himself proclaimed sovereign of Rome.

Though the Bishops thus exercised the powers of sovereignty, yet they could not rest satisfied while deprived of its honours; and they only waited the opportunity of deposing the Duke, and of setting the threats of the Eastern Emperors at defiance. With this view, they were continually scattering the seeds of contention between the Greeks and the Lombards, till, by the incessant wars which they excited between them, the strength of both parties was so completely exhausted, that Italy might have been an easy conquest to any invader.

During these sanguinary conflicts, a general ferment was excited in Rome and the neighbouring cities, in consequence of an edict which was issued by the Emperor Leo against the worship of images.

For the establishment of this new species of idolatry, the Church of Rome must be held responsible. While several of the Greek Emperors held in abhorrence the use of images and pictures in divine worship, the Italians were daily multiplying in their churches these monuments of impiety, and conferring on them little less than divine adoration. When, therefore, the Emperor Leo began openly to oppose the erection and worship of images, it produced a rupture between him and the Roman See. His edict, published in 726, expressly prohibited the giving of any kind of adoration to images, and commanded them to be removed from all the churches. As he knew that the Bishop of Rome, Gregory II., was peculiarly attached to that species of idolatry, he sent him, together with a copy of the edict, a special notice respecting the removal of all images from the churches. But instead of complying with the wishes of the Emperor, Gregory summoned a Council of Bishops, who gave a new sanction to that mode of worship, and forbade their removal. Being thus supported, Gregory employed every means to influence the public mind against the Emperor, both at Rome, and throughout the Exarchate of Ravenna. He even ventured to publish a Bull, wherein he declared that "Leo ought no longer to be acknowledged as vested with imperial authority; that he absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him, and that it was unlawful to pay him any more tribute."

Persevering, however, in his opposition to image worship, the Emperor, in 730, published another edict, ordering all images to be burnt, and their worshippers to be severely punished; and because Germanus, the Bishop of Constantinople, would not acquiesce in his proceedings, Leo deposed him, and set up Anastatius in his room. An account of these transactions having reached Rome, the spirit of mutiny and rebellion, which had been stirred up by Gregory among the people, broke out in the most violent manner. At Ravenna, they put the Exarch to death, and in other cities, the Magistrates who continued faithful to the Emperor were massacred or banished, and others elected in their stead. In Rome, the revolution was as complete as in any city of the Exarchate; for, after putting out the eyes of the Governor, and suspending the powers of all constituted authorities, they proclaimed Gregory the civil head and first magistrate of the city; after which, the principal inhabitants swore allegiance to him, as succeeding to all the powers and honours of the Duke. The example of Rome was followed by thirty other cities, in all of which the new Magistrates swore allegiance to the Bishop as their civil Sovereign. Thus was laid the foundation of the secular power of the Popes, which, as we shall immediately see, was soon afterwards acknowledged by a foreign state.

The zeal of Gregory II. in defending idolatry, was surpassed by his successor, Gregory III., who was raised to the Pontificate in 731. This arrogant Pontiff wrote to the Emperor in the following haughty terms:—"Because ye are unlearned and ignorant, we are obliged to write to you rude discourses, but full of sense and of the word of God. We conjure you to quit your pride, and hear us with humility. You say that we adore stones, walls, and boards. It is not so, my Lord; but these symbols make us recollect the persons whose names they bear, and exalt our grovelling minds. We do not look upon them as gods; but if it be the image of Jesus, we say, Lord help us. If it be the image of his mother, we say, Pray to your Son to save us. If it be of a martyr, we say, St. Stephen pray for us. We might, as having the power of St. Peter, pronounce punishments against you; but as you

have pronounced the curse upon yourself, let it stick to you. You write to us to assemble a General Council, of which there is no need. Do you cease to persecute images, and all will be quiet. We fear not your threats."

Gregory now acted in all respects like a temporal Prince. He intrigued with the court of France, offering to withdraw his allegiance from the Emperor, which in effect he had done already, and give the Consulship of Rome to Charles Martel, the Prime Minister of that Court, if he would take him under his protection. But the war in which France had been lately engaged with the Saracens, rendered it inconvenient for the present to comply with his request; and in the year 741, the Emperor Leo, Pope Gregory III., and Charles Martel, died, without however restoring tranquillity to the Church and the empire.

Leo was succeeded by his son, Constantine Copronymus, who inherited all his father's zeal against images; Pope Gregory III., by Zachary; and Charles Martel, by his son Pepin. The convulsed state of society in Italy encouraged Luitprand, King of the Lombards, to attack the Exarchate of Ravenna, of which he gained possession in the year 752. But as Rome was considered an appendage to the Exarchate, the Lombard King did not consider his conquests complete, so long as the government of that city was not under his own sceptre. He was therefore determined, either to gain possession of Rome, or to reduce it to ashes. Pope Zachary found means, however, to avert for a short time the threatened danger, by the artful manner in which he worked upon the fears of the aspiring Prince.

By means of a solemn embassy to Luitprand, Zachary had not only obtained peace, but a promise that four cities, which the Lombards had hitherto retained in their possession, should be delivered up to the Roman See. But as the cities were not restored so soon as was expected, Zachary resolved to visit Luitprand in person, and either by entreaties or anathemas, to obtain their reunion to the principality of Rome. He accordingly left Rome, with a very splendid retinue of Bishops and other ecclesiastics, and was received in a very

friendly manner by the Lombard King. He represented to him the shortness and vanity of all temporal grandeur; he reminded him of the account which he had one day to give, for all the blood which he had shed, in order to gratify his ambition; and he threatened him with eternal damnation, if he did not speedily restore the four cities. The fears of Luitprand were so powerfully excited by the eloquence and threatening of the Pope, that he instantly declared, with an audible voice, "That the cities were no longer his; that they belonged to the Apostle Peter, and, therefore, that he delivered them to Zachary, his successor." At the same time, he ordered the wealthy patrimony of the Roman Church, in the country of the Sabines, which the Lombards had seized thirty years before, to be forthwith restored; and with it the patrimonies of the Church in the territories of the Narni, of Osimo, of Ancona, and Palimartium.

The Roman Pontiff now acted in all respects like a temporal Prince, of whose enormous power history records the following shocking and remarkable instance. Charles Martel was succeeded in his office of Mayor of the Palace to Childeric III., by his son Pepin. In the exercise of that office he was possessed, in reality, of the royal power and authority; but, not content with this, he aspired to the titles and honours of majesty, and formed the design of dethroning his sovereign. For this purpose the states of the realm were assembled by Pepin, A. D. 751; and though they were devoted to the interests of this ambitious usurper, they gave it as their opinion, that the Bishop of Rome was previously to be consulted, whether the execution of such a project was lawful or not. In consequence of this, ambassadors were sent by Pepin to Zachary, the reigning Pontiff, with the following question: "Whether the divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of discharging any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule, and who had already rendered most important services to the state?" The situation of Zachary, who stood much in need of the aid of Pepin against the Greeks and Lombards, ren-

dered his answer such as the usurper desired ; who, in return, conferred on Zachary the domains of Ravenna, which could not have been secured from the degraded Childeric. Thus, by his spiritual authority, the Pope deposed a sovereign who had committed no crime ; receiving from the usurper, in return, the temporal jurisdiction. When this favourable decision of the Roman Oracle was published in France, the unhappy Childeric was stripped of royalty without the least opposition ; and Pepin, without the smallest resistance from any quarter, stepped into the throne of his master and his sovereign. This decision was solemnly confirmed by Stephen II.,* the successor of Zachary, who undertook a journey into France, in the year 754, in order to solicit assistance against the Lombards ; and who, at the same time, dissolved the obligation of the oath of fidelity and allegiance which Pepin had sworn to Childeric, and violated by his usurpation in the year 751 ; and, to render his title to the crown as sacred as possible, Stephen anointed and crowned him, with his wife and two sons, and, by the authority of St. Peter, forbade the French lords, on pain of excommunication, to choose a King of another race. Thus did these two ambitious men support one another in their schemes of rapacity and injustice. The criminality of the Pope was, indeed, greatly aggravated by the pretence of religion. “It is you,” said he, addressing Pepin, “whom God hath chosen from all eternity. For, whom he did predestinate, them he also called, and whom he called, them he also justified.”

This compliance of the Roman Pontiffs, proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to the Church. When Aistulphus, the successor of Luitprand, meditated the conquest of Rome and its territory, and formed the ambitious project of reducing all Italy under the yoke of the Lombards, the terrified Pontiff, Stephen II., addressed himself to his powerful patron and protector, Pepin, represented to him his

* This Stephen is sometimes called the THIRD of that name ; as his predecessor, of that name, having died three days after his election, was never consecrated.

deplorable condition, and implored his assistance. The French Monarch embarked with zeal in the cause of the suppliant Pontiff; crossed the Alps, A. D. 754, with a numerous army; and, having twice defeated Aistulphus, obliged him, by a solemn treaty, to deliver up to the See of Rome the Exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, and all the cities, castles, and territories, which he had seized in the Roman dukedom. Pepin then caused an instrument to be drawn up, signed by himself and his sons, by which he ceded for ever to the holy See, all the places thus yielded up by the Lombard King, including the Exarchate, which he had taken from the Emperor of Constantinople. He afterwards caused the instrument of donation, with the keys of all the cities, to be laid on the tomb of St. Peter, in Rome. Stephen thus became proprietor of the Exarchate and its dependencies; and, by adding rapacity to his rebellion, was established as a temporal Monarch! Thus was the sceptre added to the keys; the sovereignty to the priesthood; and thus were the Popes enriched with the spoils of the Lombard Kings, and of the Roman Emperors.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD II. SUPREMACY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

THE question concerning Images, which had long agitated both the Eastern and Western Churches, was, at this time, far from being put to rest, either at Rome, or Constantinople, but still gave occasion to the assembling of Council after Council; one Council annulling what the former had decreed. During the reign of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus, (who employed all his influence in abolishing and extirpating the worship of images,) a Synod was held at Constantinople, 754,

to determine the controversy. The fathers being met, to the number of three hundred and thirty, after considering the doctrine of Scripture, and the opinions of the Fathers, decreed that every image, of whatsoever materials, made and formed by the artist, should be cast out of the Christian Church as a strange and abominable thing; notwithstanding Paul I., who having succeeded his brother Stephen, was, at that time, Pope of Rome, sent a legate to Constantinople, to admonish the Emperor to restore the sacred images and statues to the Churches, threatening him with excommunication in case of refusal. But Copronymus treated his message with the contempt it deserved. On the decease of Paul I., A. D. 768, the Papal chair was filled for one year, by a person of the name of Constantine, who condemned the worship of images, and was therefore tumultuously deposed; and Stephen IV. substituted in his room, who was a furious defender of them. Stephen immediately assembled a Council in the Lateran Church, where the renowned Fathers abrogated all Constantine's Decrees, deposed all the Bishops that had been ordained by him, annulled all his Baptisms and Chrisms, and, as some historians relate, after having beat and used him with great indignity, made a fire in the Church and burnt him to death. After this, they annulled all the Decrees of the Synod of Constantinople, ordered the restoration of statues and images, and anathematized that execrable and pernicious Synod, giving this curious reason for the use of images; that if it was lawful for Emperors, and those who had deserved well of their country, to have their images erected, but not lawful to set up those of God, the condition of the immortal God would be worse than that of man.

Pepin, the great supporter of the Popedom, died in 768, and was succeeded by his son, Charlemagne, who confirmed his fathers donation of the Exarchate to Adrian I., the reigning Pontiff, with some considerable additions of territory. During the pontificate of this Bishop, the Lombards again invaded the provinces which had been granted by Pepin to the See of Rome. Charlemagne did not, however, permit them to resume their authority; he entered Italy with a powerful army, sub-

dued the Lombards, assumed to himself the title of their King, and was crowned at Rome in the year 774. Additional donations to the Pope, and a confirmation of the grants bestowed by his father, were the fruits of this additional extent of dominion to Charlemagne. Several cities and provinces were ceded by him to the Roman See, under the specious pretext of atoning for his sins by munificence to the Church.

Thus the mystery of iniquity continued to work, until the reign of Irene, the Empress of Constantinople, and her son Constantine, about the close of this century. Irene was the profligate wife of Leo IV., who in 775, after the death of Constantine, was declared Emperor. Having strenuously exerted himself for the extirpation of idolatry out of the Christian Church, he was poisoned by his perfidious wife, who was a zealous supporter of image worship. Under Irene's influence and authority was convened, what is termed the seventh General Council, held at Nice, in 787; the number of Bishops present being about three hundred and fifty. They decreed "that holy images of the cross should be consecrated, and put on the sacred vessels and vestments, and upon walls and boards, in private houses and public ways. And especially that there should be erected images of the Lord God! our Saviour Jesus! and our blessed Lady, the Mother of God, of the venerable angels, and of all the saints; and that whoever should presume to think or teach otherwise, or to throw away any painted books, or the figure of the cross, or any image or picture, or any genuine relics of the martyrs, they should, if Bishops or Clergymen, be deposed, or if Monks or laymen, be excommunicated." Thus, very shortly after the seventh General Council had condemned the worship of images as idolatrous, was idolatry established by law, contrary to the express commands, and in contempt of the dreadful threatenings of the Eternal God.

Irene and Constantine approved and ratified these decrees, the result of which, was, that Idols and Images were erected in all the Churches, and those opposed to them were treated with great severity. And thus, by the intrigues of the Popes of Rome, iniquity was established by law, and the worship of Idols authorized and confirmed in the Catholic Church, though in express oppo-

sition to all the principles of natural religion, and the nature and design of the Christian revelation. No sooner had the Roman Pontiff sanctioned the decrees of this Council, than Claudius, afterwards Bishop of Turin, within whose diocese were the valleys of Piedmont, where dwelt the Waldensian believers, resisted the introduction of so dangerous an innovation into the Churches within his jurisdiction, and maintained those purer principles of the Christian faith which had been transmitted from the primitive ages. The seeds of Christian truth thus preserved in the diocese of Turin, continued long to flourish: from hence a bright taper constantly shed rays that diffused the pure light of truth, not only through several parts of Italy, but the several southern provinces of France, England, Bohemia, and other countries. Lewis, the Meek, son of Charlemagne, in whose Court Claudius spent his earliest years, as one of the Chaplains, being desirous of providing the Churches of Piedmont with a faithful pastor, raised him to the See of Turin, in the year 817. No sooner did Claudius enter upon the duties of his office, than he endeavoured to stem the torrent of idolatry and superstition, which flowed every where around him. Instead of amusing his audience with legendary tales, he laboured to instruct them in the great truths of the Gospel of Christ, and contemning the unscriptural doctrines which were invented at Rome, he made it his constant business to lead the minds of his people to the word of God, and to set before them the authority and will of Christ as there revealed. To give some idea of the views of this eminent saint, the following sentiments, opposite to the Romish Creed, were firmly held, and zealously inculcated by the Bishop of Turin. He affirmed, that the only proper head of the Church is the Lord Jesus Christ; he denied the blasphemous doctrine of Transubstantiation, and adduced the most weighty arguments to prove its absurdity; he maintained that men are justified by faith, without the deeds of the law, that the word of God alone is the ground of the Christian's faith; that no human traditions are of equal authority with the Scriptures; that it is absurd to offer up prayers for the dead, and that the Church is infallible. He showed his zeal in particular against images, relics, and

pilgrimages, in not only writing against their idolatrous practices, but in breaking down, and burning, all the images which were in the Churches throughout his diocese.

The opposition of Claudius to the received opinions of that corrupt age, were highly resented by the adherents of Popery. The Monks reviled him as a blasphemer, and a heretic, and even some of his own people became so refractory, that in a short time he went about in danger of his life. Yet “none of these things moved him, neither did he count his life dear unto himself, that he might finish his course with joy,” and be the happy instrument of delivering souls from the dominion of the Prince of darkness.

His arguments against Image worship indeed were so conclusive, as well as scriptural, that his adversaries were completely nonplussed, and were compelled to shelter themselves under the absurd and ridiculous refuge of Papists, in every age, that “they adhered to the tradition and usage of the Church.”

The labours of this Reformer were eminently blessed for disseminating the pure doctrines of the Gospel of Christ, and for checking the growing evils which abounded both in his own diocese, and in the surrounding country. Even Romish writers have admitted that the valleys of Piedmont, which belonged to his Bishopric, preserved his opinions in the ninth and tenth centuries. “These valleys,” says Jones, “were in time filled with his disciples, and, while midnight darkness sat enthroned over almost every portion of the globe, the Waldenses, which is only another name for the inhabitants of these valleys, preserved the Gospel among them in its native purity, and rejoiced in its glorious light.” After spending an active and useful life in the service of his Redeemer, Claudius ended his days in peace, in the year 839.

On the death of Pepin, King of France, in the year 768, his dominions were divided between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, the latter of whom dying two years afterwards, Charles became sole monarch of that country. In his general character, he somewhat resembled our English Alfred, and is deservedly ranked amongst the most illustrious sovereigns that have appeared,—a rare instance of a monarch, who united his

own glory with the happiness of his people. In private life he was amiable; an affectionate father, a fond husband, and a generous friend. Though engaged in many wars, he was far from neglecting the arts of peace, the welfare of his subjects, or the cultivation of his own mind. But with all these amiable traits in the character of Charlemagne, a superstitious attachment to the See of Rome unhappily mingled itself with all his policy, and led him to engage in theological disputes and quibbles unworthy of his character. Charlemagne distinguished himself in the controversy concerning the worship of Images. He sought to withdraw Adrian, who, in 772, had succeeded Stephen IV. in the See of Rome, from an approval of the Decrees of the second Nicene Council. With this view he, in the year 794, assembled at Franckfort on the Main, a Council of three hundred Bishops, in order to re-examine this important question, by which the worship of Images was unanimously condemned.

At this period a new attack was made upon the patrimony of St. Peter. Adrian maintained a steady attachment to Charlemagne, which provoked Dideric, King of the Lombards, to invade the state of Ravenna, and to threaten Rome itself. Charlemagne recompensed his attachment, by marching with a large army to his succour; and having gained many considerable advantages over Dideric, and recovered the cities which he had taken, he visited the Pope at Rome, confirming the grants made by his father Pepin, to which he added new donations, and formed a perpetual league of friendship between the growing power of France and the established supremacy of the western Church. On this occasion he expressed his piety, by the humiliating ceremony of kissing each of the steps, as he ascended to the church of St. Peter.

By thus consulting the favour of the Roman Pontiffs, Clergy, and consequently that of the people, Charlemagne opened for himself a passage to the empire of the West, and to the supreme dominion over the city of Rome and its territory, upon which the western empire seemed to depend. In the year 796, Leo III., who had succeeded Adrian in the Papacy, transmitted to Charles the Roman standard, request-

ing him to send some person to receive the oath of fidelity from the Romans, an instance of submission with which that monarch was highly flattered. Accordingly in the year 800, we find Charles at Rome, where he passed six days in private conferences with the Pope. On Christmas Day, as the King assisted at Mass in St. Peter's Church, in the midst of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and upon his knees before the altar, the Pope advanced and put an Imperial crown upon his head. As soon as the people perceived it, they exclaimed, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God! Long live the great and pious Emperor of the Romans!" The supreme Pontiff then conducted him to a magnificent throne, which had been prepared for the occasion, and as soon as he was seated, paid him those honours which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the Roman Emperors. Leo now presented him with the Imperial mantle, on being invested with which, Charles returned to his palace, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. Succeeding generations, grateful for the services which Charlemagne had rendered to Christianity, canonized his memory, and turned this bloody warrior into an eminent saint. In the twelfth century, Frederic I., Emperor of the Romans, ordered Paschal II., whom he had raised to the Pontificate, to enrol the name of this mighty conqueror among the tutelary Saints of the Church. Indeed Charlemagne merited this honour; for to have enriched the Clergy with large and magnificent donations, and to have extended the boundaries of the Church, no matter by what methods, was then considered as the highest merit, and as a sufficient pretension to the honour of saintship. But in the esteem of those who judge of the nature and character of sanctity by the decisions of the Gospel, the sainted Emperor will appear utterly unworthy of that honor. The favours that were conferred by the Pontiff on the French monarch, imperiously called for an adequate return; and it is due to Charlemagne to say that he was by no means deficient in gratitude. The Greek Emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the Exarchate of Ravenna, and the sword of Pepin, the father of Charles, had no sooner wrested it from

the grasp of Aistulphus, than he conferred it on the Roman Pontiff, as a recompence "for the remission of his sins, and the salvation of his soul." The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld a Christian Bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal Prince; the choice of magistrates, and the exercise of justice; the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. "Perhaps," says Gibbon, "the humility of a Christian Priest should have rejected an earthly kingdom, which it was not easy for him to govern without renouncing the virtues of his profession;" but humility does not appear to have been a very prominent trait in the characters of the Roman Pontiffs; and the profuse liberality of the French Kings, at this time, was not much calculated to promote it among them. It should be observed, however, that notwithstanding their extensive grants of temporal power, the supreme dominion, over the Church and its possessions, was vested in the Emperors and Kings, both in the eastern and western world; and though the partisans of the Roman Pontiffs endeavoured to render dubious the supremacy of the Latin monarchs over the Church, yet this supremacy is too manifest to be disputed. Adrian I., in a Council of Bishops assembled at Rome, conferred on Charlemagne and his successors the right of election to the See of Rome: and though neither Charlemagne, nor his son Louis, were willing to exercise this power in all its extent, by naming and creating the Pontiff upon every vacancy, yet they reserved the right of approving and confirming the person who was elected to that high dignity by the Priests and the people: nor was the consecration of the elected Pontiff of the least validity, unless performed in the presence of the Emperor's ambassadors. It is true, indeed, that the Latin Emperors did not assume to themselves the administration of the Church, or the cognizance and decision of controversies that were purely of a religious nature. They acknowledged, on the contrary, that these affairs belonged to the tribunal of the Roman Pontiff, and to the ecclesiastical Councils. But this jurisdiction of the Pontiff was confined within narrow limits; he could decide nothing by his sole

authority, but was obliged to convene a Council when any religious differences were to be terminated by an authoritative judgment. It is further to be observed, that the power of convening Councils, and the right of presiding in them, were the prerogatives of the Emperors and sovereign Princes, in whose dominions these assemblies were holden; and that no Decrees of any Council obtained the force of laws, until they were approved and confirmed by the supreme magistrate. Thus was the spiritual authority of Rome wisely bounded by the civil power; but its ambitious Pontiffs fretted under the Imperial curb, and, eager to loosen their bonds, left no means unemployed for that purpose; claiming supreme dominion, not only over the Church, but also over Kings themselves, and pretended to reduce the whole universe under their ghostly jurisdiction.

Before we narrate those events which, during the ninth and succeeding centuries, raised the Papal See to its greatest height of power, arrogance, and vice, we must observe, that although hitherto the approbation of the Emperor was necessary, in order to the consecration of the person chosen to the Pontificate, after the time of Charles the Bald, a new scene of things arose. That Prince, having obtained the imperial dignity by the good offices of the Bishops of Rome, returned this eminent service by delivering the succeeding Pontiffs from the obligation of waiting for the consent of the Emperors, in order to their being installed in their office. And thus we find, that from the time of Eugenius II., who was raised to the Pontificate A. D. 820, the election of the Bishop of Rome was carried on without the least regard to law, order, or decency, and was generally attended with civil tumults and dissensions, until the reign of Otho the Great, in 940, who put a stop to these disorderly proceedings. Among the Prelates that were raised to the Pontificate in the ninth century, there were very few who distinguished themselves by their learning, prudence, and virtue, or who were studious of those particular qualities that are essential to the character of a Christian Bishop. On the contrary, the greatest part of them are only known by the flagitious actions that have transmitted

their names with infamy to our times; and all seem to have vied with each other in their ambitious efforts to extend their authority, and render their dominion unlimited and universal. Cardinal Baronius says, that, at this time, the Popes were rather Apostates, than Apostles; and that they were thrust into the the Papal Chair by the power of harlots, and the violence of the Princes of Tuscany; they were monsters, men of most base life, most destructive morals, and in every manner most defiled. It is here that we may place, with propriety, an event which is said to have interrupted the much-vaunted succession of regular Bishops in the See of Rome, from the first foundation of that Church to the present time. Between the Pontificate of Leo IV., who died in the year 855, and that of Benedict III., a certain woman, who artfully disguised her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the Papal Chair, and to have governed the Church, with the title and dignity of Pontiff, about two years. This extraordinary person is yet known by the title of Pope Joan.* The period was now arrived in which the Clergy aspired to the right of disposing of crowns, which they founded on the ancient Jewish practice of anointing Kings. They had recourse to the most miserable fictions and sophisms to render themselves independent: they refused to take the oath of fidelity, because sacred hands could not, without abomination, submit to hands impure! One usurpation led to another; abuse constituted right; a quibble appeared a divine law. Ignorance sanctified every thing, and the most enormous usurpations of the Clergy obtained a ready sanction from the slavish superstition of the laity. They

* Her existence in the capacity of Roman Pontiff, has been denied; but the number and authenticity of the records which attest it, remove all doubt about the matter. Among the earliest writers, who have left evidence of the fact, are Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., and Marianus Scotus, Platina, and other Papal Secretaries, who admit the truth of the story; nor is there any circumstance better attested in history, than that she gave the world a Popeling in the very streets of Rome. Still later, John Huss insisted on it as an incontrovertible fact, both in his writings, and in his defence before the Council of Constance, without a shadow of contradiction being given to it.

trumped up a collection of forged acts, known at present by the name of *The Decretals*,—spurious writings, in which are supposed the existence of ancient canons, ordaining that no Provincial Council shall be held without the permission of the Pope; and that all ecclesiastical causes shall be under his jurisdiction. The words of the immediate successors of the Apostles are also therein quoted, and they are supposed to have left writings behind them. All these being written in the wretched style of the eighth century, and the whole filled with blunders of the grossest kind, both historical and geographical, the artifice was sufficiently apparent; but they had only ignorant persons to deceive. There were not, however, wanting among the Latin Bishops, men of prudence and sagacity, who saw through these impious frauds, and perceived the chains that were forging both for them and for the Church. The French Bishops distinguished themselves, in a particular and glorious manner, by the zeal and vehemence with which they opposed the spurious *Decretals*, and other like fictitious monuments and records, and protested against their being received among the laws of the Church. But the obstinacy of the Pontiffs, and particularly of Nicholas I., conquered this opposition, and reduced it to silence; and as the Empire, in the periods that succeeded this contest, fell back into the grossest ignorance and darkness, there scarcely remained any who were capable of detecting these odious impostures, or disposed to support the expiring liberty of the Church. The history of the following ages shows, in a multitude of deplorable examples, the disorders and calamities that sprung from the ambition of the aspiring Pontiffs; it represents these despotic lords of the Church, labouring, by the aid of their impious frauds, to overturn its ancient government, to undermine the authority of its Bishops, to engross its riches and revenues into their own hands; nay, what is still more horrible, it represents them aiming perfidious blows at the thrones of Princes, and endeavouring to lessen their power, and to set bounds to their dominion. The ignorance and corruption that dishonoured the Christian Church, in this century, were great beyond measure; and were there no other examples of their

enormity upon record, than the single instance of that stupid veneration that was paid to the bones and carcases of departed Saints, this would be sufficient to convince us of the deplorable progress of superstition. This idolatrous devotion was now considered as the most sacred and momentous branch of religion; nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes of finding the Deity propitious, before they had assured themselves of the protection and intercession of some one or other of the saintly order. Hence it was, that every Church, and, indeed, every private Christian, had their particular patron among the saints, from an apprehension that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently managed by those who were already employed about the souls of others; for they judged, in this respect, of the saints as they did of mortals, whose capacity is too limited to comprehend a vast variety of objects. The ecclesiastical Councils found it necessary, at length, to set limits to the licentious superstition of those ignorant wretches, who, with a view to have still more friends at Court, (for such were their gross notions of things,) were daily adding new saints to the list of their celestial mediators. They accordingly declared, by a solemn decree, that no departed Christian should be considered as a member of the saintly order, before the Bishop, in a Provincial Council, and in presence of the people, had pronounced him worthy of that distinguished honour. This remedy, feeble and illusory as it was, contributed, in some measure, to restrain the fanatical temerity of the saint-makers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman Pontiff.

About the middle of the century, the Papal Chair was filled by Nicholas I., one of the most obstinate and ambitious Prelates that ever disgraced the Priesthood. Even his own Clergy, with the Bishop of Treves and Cologne, accused him of making himself master of the world; an expression which, though somewhat strained, was not wholly without foundation. He asserted his dominion over the French Clergy, and received appeals from all ecclesiastics dissatisfied with their Bishops. Hence he taught the people to acknowledge a su-

preme tribunal at a distance from their own country, and, of course, a foreign sway. He issued his orders in the most authoritative style, to regulate the disputed succession to the kingdom of Provence. "Let no one prevent the Emperor," said he, "from governing the kingdoms which he holds in virtue of a succession confirmed by the Holy See, and by the crown which the Sovereign Pontiff has placed upon his head."

About the year 877, Pope John VIII. convened a Council at Troyes, in France, one of the Canons of which is sufficiently remarkable to be adduced as a specimen of the spirit of the times. It expressly asserts, that "the powers of the world shall not dare to seat themselves in the presence of the Bishops, unless desired." Thus the power and influence of the Pontiffs, in civil affairs, rose, in a short time, to an enormous height, through the favour and protection of the Princes, in whose cause they had employed the influence which superstition had given them over the minds of the people. The increase of their authority, in religious matters, was not less rapid or less considerable; and it arose from the same causes. The Roman Pontiffs, elate with their overgrown prosperity, and the daily accessions that were made to their authority, were eagerly bent upon persuading all, and had, indeed, the good fortune, to persuade many, that the Bishop of Rome was constituted, by Jesus Christ, supreme Legislator and Judge of the Church universal; and that, therefore, the Bishops derived all their authority from the Roman Pontiff, nor could the Councils determine any thing without his permission and consent.

In reviewing the history of this century, the names of many individual Popes are necessarily omitted; as affording nothing worthy of record, approbation, or perusal: whilst the heart mourns over details calculated only to wound the pious mind, and to leave impressions unfavourable to the beauty of true religion.

CHAPTER V.

THE history of the Popes, who lived in the tenth century, is a history of so many monsters, and not of men, and exhibits a horrible series of the most flagitious, tremendous, and complicated crimes, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess. These corruptions mounted to the most enormous height in that dismal period of the Church which we have now before us. Both in the Eastern and Western Provinces, the Clergy were, for the most part, composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the Universal Church, who indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions, without reluctance or remorse; who confounded, in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their impious ambition; and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind.

“What was now,” says Baronius, “the face of the Roman Church? How most foul! when most powerful and most filthy prostitutes ruled and governed in Rome, by whose will the Sees were changed, and Bishopricks given away; and that which is horrible to relate, their lovers, false Popes, were thrust in violently into Peter’s Chair.”

With Christianity, learning and philosophy declined. The arts and sciences left no trace after them. Iniquity did now so abound, and so corrupt were the morals of the Clergy, that many believed that the world was approaching its termination. Baronius feelingly describes the lamentable state of the Christian Church at this period; filled, as he says it was, with

every species of impurity: the most abandoned harlots disposing of its chief Bishopricks among their paramours; the Clergy rioting in licentious dissipation, and making even a sport of perfidy and murder.

What followed was every way suitable to such an introduction: as we find Cæsar Borgia, the son of Pope Alexander VI., closing the sequel, four centuries afterwards, by his atrocities and debaucheries. As the natural result of such a state of things, errors of the grossest kind vitiated the Church during the tenth age, both in its faith and practice: such as the canonization of saints, the baptism of bells, the celibacy of the Clergy, the worship of relics; together with visions, apparitions, ordeals by fire, and other vain superstitions.

The testimony of various Roman Catholic writers proves that, during the dark ages, the state of things was such, that the most monstrous errors, both in opinions and practice, had crept into the Church. A Bishop of the Church in the year 900, thus complains:—"So great folly now oppreseth the miserable world, that at this day more absurd things are believed by Christians, than ever any could impose upon the blind Pagans." (*Agoberd. Ess. Lug. Lib. de Grandi, &c.*)

Sabellius says, "It is wonderful to observe, what a strange forgetfulness of all arts did, about this time, seize upon men, insomuch that neither the Popes nor other Princes seemed to have any sense or apprehension of any thing that might be useful to human life. There were no wholesome laws, no reparation of Churches, no pursuit of liberal arts; but a kind of stupidity, and madness, and forgetfulness of manners had possessed the minds of men."

Sigonius, speaking of these times, calls them "the foulest and blackest, both in respect to the wickedness of the Princes and madness of the people, that are to be found in all antiquity." (*De reg. Ital. Lib. VI.*)

A great Prelate thus writes: "In the West, and almost all the world over, especially among those who are called *the faithful*, faith failed, and there was no fear of God amongst them. Justice was perished from among men, and violence prevailing against equity, governed the nations. Fraud,

deceit, and the acts of cozenage, were grown universal. All kind of virtue gave way, as an useless thing, and wickedness supplied its place. The world seemed to be declining apace, towards its evening, and the second coming of the Son of Man to draw near; for love was grown cold, and faith was not to be found on the earth. All things were in confusion, and the world looked as if it would return to its old chaos. All sorts * * * were committed with the same freedom, as if they had been lawful actions; for men neither blushed at them, nor were punished for them. Nor did the Clergy live better than the people; for the Bishops were grown negligent of the duty of their place, &c. &c. In a word, men ran themselves headlong into all vice, and all flesh had corrupted its way." (*Bell. Sacr. Lib. I. c. 18.*)

It may here be well to observe, that in the beginning of this century, there lived at Rome, the celebrated Theodora, with her daughters Marosia and Theodora. They not only lived in a state of the most shameless and abandoned profligacy and debauchery with the chief of the Roman Nobility, but obtained also the whole government into their hands. Of these wretchedly profligate and abandoned women, we shall have occasion, hereafter, to speak more particularly.

On the death of John IX., in the year 900, Benedict IV. was chosen as his successor; of whom, we have nothing to relate, but his violent death, by Berengarius, whom Adelbert, Marquis of Tuscany, strongly supported. He was succeeded by Leo V., who was supplanted by the wicked machinations of his successor, Christopher I. Both died in prison, in 904. By the interest and interference of Theodora, the notorious Sergius III., now succeeded to the Papacy, who governed the Church from 904 to 911, under the protection and influence of Adelbert, a most powerful Tuscan Prince, who had a supreme and unlimited direction in all the affairs that were transacted at Rome. His amours with Theodora, and his many other vices, contributed to render him hateful to his own people, and to brand him as an unworthy ruler of a professedly Christian Church.

Anastasius III., a Roman by birth, was created Pope, on

the death of Sergius, in 911. Nothing is recorded of him worthy of notice: and as little is known of his successor Lando.

After the death of Lando, who only enjoyed the dignity for a short time, in the year 914, John X. obtained the pontifical chair, through the intrigues of Theodora, with whom he had long been intimate, notwithstanding his elevated station in the Church. As John was indebted for his rank and elevation in the Church, to the intrigues of one infamous woman, so he lost his dignity and life through those of another. This was Marozia, the daughter of his former mistress, Theodora; who being exasperated, that she did not succeed her mother in the confidence of the Pope, resolved to destroy him and his brother Peter, who, at this time, was in habits of the strictest intimacy with him. She communicated the bloody design to her husband, Wido, Duke of Tuscany, and prevailed on him not only to approve, but to be the instrument of carrying it into execution. Accordingly, this wretch, on a certain day, when the Pope and his brother were together in the Lateran palace, broke in at the head of a band of ruffians, killed Peter before his brother's face, and then seizing the Pope, dragged him to prison, where he soon afterwards died. This licentious Pontiff was succeeded in 928, by Leo VI., who sat but seven months in the Apostolic Chair, which was filled after him by Stephen VII. The death of the latter, which happened in the year 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia, an object worthy of its grasp; and accordingly, she raised to the Papal dignity, John XI., who was the fruit of her lawless amours, with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, Sergius III., whose adulterous commerce with that infamous woman, thus gave an infallible guide to the Romish Church. John, who was thus placed at the head of the Church, by the credit and influence of his mother, was pulled down from this summit of spiritual grandeur, A. D. 933, by Alberic, his half brother.

On the death of John, in 936, Leo VII. succeeded. Of him, and his successors, Stephen VIII., and Martin II., we know nothing. Agapetus II., was elected in 946; his Ponti-

ificate, however, was, in no respect, distinguished by any event of a remarkable or important nature.

On the death of Agapetus, which happened in the year 956, Alberic II., who, to the dignity of Roman Consul, joined a degree of authority and opulence, which nothing could resist, raised to the Pontificate, his son, Octavian, a grandson of Marosia, who was yet in the early bloom of youth, without having been in holy orders, or indeed capable of ordination, and destitute of every quality that was requisite for discharging the duties of that high and important office. This unworthy Pontiff, who assumed the name of John XII., was as unhappy as his promotion had been scandalous. Being degraded in the most ignominious manner, from his high office, by Otho the Great, Leo VIII. was appointed to fill his place. After this, he several times conspired against the life of the new Pope, and was as frequently pardoned, till at length he contrived to set himself again on the Papal Throne. John instantly assembled a Council of Prelates and Cardinals, who condemned the Council that had deposed him, and passed different sentences of condemnation on all those who had been accessory to the elevation of his rival. John did not long survive the holding of this Council, for having engaged in a criminal connexion with a married woman, the injured husband, who caught him in the act, put an end to the life and debaucheries of his holiness, by some violent blows which he gave him on his temples.

John XIII., who was raised to the Pontificate in the year 965, by Otho the Great, was expelled from Rome in the beginning of his administration, but upon the Emperor's return to Italy, in 966, he was restored to his dignity, tranquillity once more reigned in Rome, and the pretended successor to the Apostle Peter was suffered to end his days in peace, in the year 972.

The ridiculous practice of consecrating and baptizing bells, was introduced by John, in 968, who solemnly sprinkled with holy water, a large bell, which was cast for the Lateran, and pronounced it sacred. This custom was followed by the Romish Church in succeeding ages, the baptism of the bell, or

its consecration, being absolutely considered necessary to render its sound a sort of charm to deliver the people from the assaults of evil spirits !

Benedict VI., who succeeded him, did not enjoy the happiness of his predecessor, during the short period that he wore the triple crown. In consequence of the hatred which the Romans had conceived both against his person and his government, he was soon cast into prison, loaded with every species of ignominy, and, at length, in 974, was strangled. Unfortunately for him, Otho the Great, whose power and severity kept the Romans in awe, died in 973, and with him expired that order and discipline which he had restored in Rome, by salutary laws, executed with impartiality and rigor. Otho's death entirely changed the face of affairs in that wicked and miserable city, where licentiousness and disorder, seditions and assassinations, resumed their former sway.

Upon the death of Benedict, Boniface VII., and Domnus II., were raised to, and expelled from, the Papal chair, in the short space of one year ; upon which Benedict VII. was chosen Pope, in the year 975. Contrary to the usual fate of the sovereign Pontiffs in this century, this Bishop reigned nine years in comparative tranquillity, and ended his inglorious days without bloodshed, in the year 984. His successor, John XIV., did not, however, enjoy similiar prosperity ; the flagitious Boniface VII., coming again to Rome, John was murdered in the year following, and John XV. raised to the exalted, but unenviable situation of " head of the Church."

The number of saints, whose patronage was now eagerly sought, by the deluded multitude, was every where multiplied, while the corruption and impiety, which reigned with unbounded sway, rendered the reputation of sanctity very easy to be acquired. Previous to this period, the Roman Pontiffs had pretended to possess, but never exercised, alone, the power of creating saints. In this century, however, they presumed to carry these pretensions into effect, by their own authority. The first example of this new display of power occurred in the year 993, when John XV., with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, enrolled Udlaric, Bishop of Augsburg, in the

number of saints, “and thus conferred on him, a title to the worship and veneration of Christians.”

The following copy of the Decree, which placed Udlaric among the number of the saints, is submitted to the reader as a specimen of Papal impiety, and daring presumption.

“John, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of France, and Germany, greeting, and the apostolical benediction. Having held an assembly at the palace of the Lateran, on the last day of January, John, the most holy Pope, sitting with the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Clergy, standing, the Most Reverend Lintolph, Bishop of Augsburg, said, ‘Most holy Bishop, if it may please you and the rest of the reverend Bishops, and Priests here present, to give leave to read in your presence the book which I hold in my hand, concerning the life and miracles of Udlaric, who was some time Bishop of Augsburg, to the end that you may afterwards ordain what you shall think fit.’” This book, containing the most absurd legends of Udlaric, having been read, the Decree proceeds: “these things being thus related, we have resolved, and ordained, that the memory of Udlaric ought to be honoured with a pious affection, and a sincere devotion; by reason, that we are obliged to honour, and show respect to the relics of the martyrs and confessors, in order to adore Him, whose martyrs and confessors they are; we honour the servants, to the end that this honour may redound to the Lord. It is our pleasure, therefore, that the memory of Udlaric be consecrated to the honour of the Lord, and that it may serve to celebrate his praises for ever.”

But while a very small measure of extraordinary austerity thus procured for the living the title of saint, and, at their death, the worship of the deluded inhabitants of Christendom, the long departed saints afforded a much more abundant harvest to the avaricious Clergy. It was a small matter of importance, whether or not they ever had any existence at all: provided a revered name could be affixed to a bone, or a putrid corpse, an extraordinary tale invented, and a number of legendary miracles affirmed; the relic was adored.

Amidst discord and danger, John reigned in Rome till 996,

when he was succeeded by Gregory V., and John XVI., who successively filled the Papal See during that year. The former of these Bishops was soon expelled from Rome, and John raised to the Papal chair; but upon the approach of Otho III., with a numerous army, he was reinstated in his former honours, and on his death in 999, Silvester II. was raised by the Emperor to the Pontificate.

This Pontiff is celebrated as being “a man of uncommon learning for that century:” but the learning, like the religion, of that dark age, was in a condition, the most deplorable. Like his predecessors in general, Silvester used every effort to advance the dignity of his See, and executed summary vengeance on all who had the courage to point out any of its corruptions. While, Archbishop of Rheims, he had, on several occasions, censured both the Court of Rome, and the inferior Clergy, for their gross injustice, and immorality; but no sooner was he himself seated in the chair of St. Peter, than his reforming projects were abandoned, and every corruption retained, which might, in the smallest, assist, to the maintenance or advancement of the Papal power.

Learning found an eminent, and an illustrious patron in Silvester. The genius of this famous Pontiff, was extensive and sublime, embracing all the different branches of literature; but its more particular bent was turned towards mathematical studies. Mechanics, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and every other kind of knowledge that had the least affinity to these important sciences, were cultivated by this restorer of learning, with the most ardent zeal, and not without success. He also patronized and encouraged all those who manifested a sincere desire to cultivate the liberal arts and sciences. It is true that if compared with the attainments of modern scholars, those of Silvester will be deemed superficial and elementary; yet we must in forming our judgment, recollect the age of ignorance, and barbarism, in which he appeared; insomuch that the Pontiff was, himself, regarded by the Monks, as a magician, and a disciple of Satan.

Amidst these frequent commotions, and even amidst the repeated enormities and flagitious crimes of those who gave them-

selves out for Christ's Vicegerents upon earth,* the power and authority of the Roman Pontiffs gradually and imperceptibly increased: such were the effects of that ignorance and superstition which reigned without control in these miserable times. Their ambitious attempts were seconded by the scandalous adulation of certain mercenary Prelates, who exalted the dignity and prerogative of, what they called, the Apostolic See, in the most pompous and extravagant terms. Several learned writers have observed, that, in this century, certain Bishops mentioned publicly, that the Roman Pontiffs were not only Bishops of Rome, but of the whole world: an assertion which hitherto none had ventured to make; and that even among the French Clergy it had been affirmed by some, that the authority of the Bishops, though divine in its origin, was conveyed to them by St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles.

It was no doubtful mark of the progress and strength of the Christian cause, that the European Kings and Princes began, so early as this century, to form the project of a holy war against the Mahometans, who were masters of Palestine. They considered it as an intolerable reproach upon Christians, that the very land in which the divine Author of their religion

* Cardinal Baronius thus sums up the state of morals at the close of the tenth century: "What then was the face of the Roman Church? How very filthy, when the most powerful and sordid harlots then ruled at Rome, at whose pleasure Sees were changed, and Bishoprics were given, and—which is horrible to hear, and most abominable,—their gallants were obtruded into the See of St. Peter, and made false Popes; for who can say they could be lawful Popes, who were intruded by such harlots, without law? There was no mention of the election, or consent of Clergy, the Canons were silent, the Decrees of Popes suppressed, the ancient traditions proscribed, lust, armed with the secular power, challenged all things to itself. * * * * *

"What kind of Cardinals, do you imagine, must be then chosen by these monsters, when nothing is so natural as for like to beget like? Who can doubt, but they in all things did consent to those that chose them? Who will not easily believe that they animated them, and followed their footsteps? Who understands not that such men must wish that our Lord would have slept continually, and never have awoke to judgment, to take cognizance of, or punish their iniquities." (*Annal. To: 10, A. D. 912, Art. 8.*)

had received his birth, exercised his ministry, and made expiation for the sins of mortals, should be abandoned to the enemies of the Christian name. They also looked upon it as highly just, and suitable to the majesty of the Christian religion, to avenge the calamities and injuries, the persecution and reproach, which its professors had suffered under the Mahometan yoke.

The cruelties which the Christians experienced in the days of the Fatimite Caliphs gave rise to new feelings in the nations of the West. Every pilgrim brought home tales of public sacrilege, or individual misery; and though some gloomy minds might consider afflictions as the essence of pilgrimages, and were, therefore, slow in separating the superfluous from the necessary pains, yet, upon general considerations, it was evidently a disgrace that the followers of Christ should dwell only by sufferance, in the country of their Master, and that Pagans should be possessors of a land which He had consecrated by his presence. At the close of the tenth century, Sylvester II. entreated the Church Universal to succour the Church of Jerusalem, and to redeem a sepulchre, which the Prophet Isaiah had said should be a glorious one, and which the sons of the destroyer of Satan were making inglorious. Pisa was the only city which was roused to arms, and all her efforts were mere predatory incursions on the Syrian coast.

The worship of the Virgin Mary, which, before this century, had been carried to a very high degree of idolatry, received now new accessions of solemnity and superstition. Towards the conclusion of this century, a custom was introduced, among the Latins, of celebrating masses, and abstaining from flesh, in honor of the blessed Virgin, every Sabbath day. After this was instituted, what the Latins called, the lesser office, in honor of St. Mary, which was, in the following century, confirmed by Urban II., in the Council of Clermont. There are also to be found, in this age, manifest indications of the institution of the rosary and crown of the Virgin, by which her worshippers were to reckon the number of prayers that they were to offer to this new divinity; for though some place the invention of the rosary in the thirteenth century, and attribute it to St. Dominic, yet this sup-

position is made without any foundation. The rosary consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and an hundred and fifty salutations of the blessed Virgin: while the crown, according to the different opinions of the learned, concerning the age of the blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or Ave Marias. It required, indeed, a good memory to keep the account; but a number of beads strung on a cord, the size also of which had some virtue, and exhibiting a vast necklace, ingeniously provided for the task, by dropping a bead at every prayer and salutation, so that they might not cheat the Virgin of the tale, nor impose on themselves the trouble of super-numerary offices.

Beside the reproach of the grossest ignorance, which the Latin Clergy, in this century, so justly deserved, they were also chargeable, in a very heinous degree, with two other odious and enormous vices, even concubinage and simony, which the greatest part of the writers of these unhappy times acknowledge and deplore. As to the first of these vices, it was practised too openly to admit of any doubt. The priests, and what is still more surprising, even the sanctimonious monks, fell victims to the triumphant charms of the sex, and to the imperious dominion of their carnal lusts; and, entering into the bonds of wedlock or concubinage, squandered away, in the most luxurious manner, with their wives or mistresses, the revenues of the Church. The other vice, above mentioned, reigned with an equal degree of impudence and licentiousness. The election of Bishops and Abbots was no longer made according to the laws of the Church, but kings and princes, or their ministers and favourites, either conferred these ecclesiastical dignities upon their friends and creatures, or sold them, without shame, to the highest bidder. Hence it happened, that the most stupid and flagitious wretches were frequently advanced to the most important stations in the church; and that, upon several occasions, even soldiers, civil magistrates, counts, and such like persons, were, by a strange metamorphosis, converted into Bishops and Abbots. Gregory VII. endeavoured, in the following century, to put a stop to these two growing evils.

All the records of the eleventh century loudly complain of the vices that reigned among the rulers of the Church, and, in general, among all the sacerdotal orders; they also deplore the universal decay of piety and discipline, that was the consequence of this corruption, in a set of men, who were bound to support, by their example, their authority, and their instructions, the sacred interests of religion and virtue. The Western Bishops were no sooner elevated to the rank of Dukes, Counts, and Nobles, and enriched with ample territories, than they gave themselves up entirely to the dominion of pleasure and ambition; and wholly employed in displaying the magnificence of their temporal stations, frequented the Courts of Princes, accompanied always with a splendid train of attendants and domestics. The inferior orders of the Clergy were also licentious in their own way; few among them preserved any remains of piety and virtue; we might add, of decency and discretion. While their rulers were wallowing in luxury, and basking in the beams of worldly pomp and splendor, they were indulging themselves, without the least sense of shame, in fraudulent practices, in impure and lascivious gratifications, and even in the commission of the most flagitious crimes.

The authority and lustre of the Latin Church, or to speak more properly, the power and dominion of the Roman Pontiffs, arose in this century to the highest point, though they arose by degrees, and had much opposition, and many difficulties to conquer. In the preceding age, the Pontiffs had acquired a great degree of authority in religious matters, and in every thing that related to the government of the Church; and their credit and influence increased prodigiously towards the commencement of this century, for then they received the pompous titles of the Masters of the World, and Popes, i. e. Universal Fathers; they presided also every where in the Councils, by their Legates, assumed the authority of supreme arbiters, in all controversies that arose concerning religion or church discipline, and maintained the pretended rights of the Church, against the encroachments and usurpations of Kings and Princes. Their authority, however, was confined within certain limits, for, on the one hand, it was restrained by Sovereign

Princes, that it might not arrogantly aim at Civil Dominion, and, on the other, it was opposed by the Bishops themselves, that it might not arise to a spiritual despotism, and utterly destroy the liberty and privileges of Synods and Councils. From the time of Leo IX., the Popes employed every method, which the most artful ambition could suggest, to remove these limits, and to render their dominion both despotic and arbitrary ; they not only aspired to the character of supreme legislators in the Church, to an unlimited jurisdiction over all Synods and Councils, whether general or provincial, to the sole distribution of all ecclesiastical honors and benefices, as divinely authorized and appointed for that purpose ; but they carried their insolent pretensions so far as to give themselves out for Lords of the Universe, arbiters over the fate of Kingdoms and Empires, and supreme rulers over the Kings and Princes of the Earth.

CHAPTER V.

THE See of Rome, after the death of Sylvester II., which happened in the year 1003, was filled successively by John XVII., John XVIII., and Sergius IV. Benedict VIII., who was raised to the Pontificate in 1012, on the death of Sergius, being driven from Rome by his competitor Gregory, fled into Germany to Henry II., by whose assistance he was reinstated in the Pontifical Chair, which he possessed in peace till 1024. Benedict was succeeded by his brother, John XIX., who ruled the Church until the year 1033. None of these Pontificates were distinguished by any memorable events ; they were not chargeable with dishonoring their high station by that licentiousness and immorality that rendered so many of their successors infamous ; their lives were virtuous, at least, their

conduct was decent. But their examples had little effect upon Benedict IX., a most abandoned profligate, and a wretch capable of the most horrid crimes. At the age of ten years, Benedict purchased the Papacy; after ten years of profligacy, rapine, and murder, was forcibly and ignominiously expelled by the Romans; and, after a temporary resumption of his dignity, through the interest of the Emperor Conrad, finding the hatred of the people on the point of bursting forth again to violent measures, sold the right and title to Pontifical Infallibility to the ignorant and unlettered Gregory VI., who succeeded in 1044.

Thus the Church had at the same time two Chiefs, Sylvester and Gregory, whose rivalry was the occasion of much trouble and confusion. The contest was terminated in the year 1046, in the Council held at Sutri, by the Emperor Henry III., who so ordered matters, that Benedict, Gregory, and Sylvester, were declared unworthy of the Pontificate, and Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, was raised to that dignity, which he enjoyed for a short time under the title of Clement II.

After the death of Clement II., which happened in the year 1047, Benedict IX., though twice degraded, aimed anew at the Papal dignity, and accordingly, forced himself into St. Peter's Chair for the third time. But the year following, he was obliged to surrender the Pontificate to Poppo, Bishop of Brixen, known by the name of Damasus II., whom Henry II. elected Pope in Germany, and sent from thence into Italy, to take possession of that dignity. Upon the death of Damasus, who ruled the See of Rome but three and twenty days, the same Emperor, in the Diet held at Worms, A. D. 1048, appointed Bruno, Bishop of Toul, to succeed him in the Pontificate.

This Prelate is known in the list of Popes by the name of Leo IX., and his private virtues, as well as his public acts of zeal and piety in the government of the Church, were deemed meritorious enough to entitle him to a place among the saintly order. But if we deduct from these pretended virtues his vehement zeal for augmenting the opulence and authority of the Church of Rome, and his laudable severity in correcting and

punishing certain enormous vices, which were common among the Clergy during his Pontificate, there will remain little in the life and administration of this Pontiff, that could give him any pretension to this distinction. During the Pontificate of Leo, an attempt was made by Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, then at the head of the Grecian Empire, to stifle the controversy just then revived on the disputed Supremacy of the Latin Church ; and, for that purpose, he desired the Roman Pontiff to send Legates to Constantinople, to concert measures for restoring and confirming the tranquillity of the Church. Three Legates were accordingly sent from Rome to that Imperial city, who brought with them letters from Leo IX., not only to the Emperor, but also to the Grecian Pontiff. These Legates were Cardinal Humbert, a man of a high and impetuous spirit ; Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi ; and Frederic, Archdeacon and Chancellor of the Church of Rome. The issue of this Congress was unhappy in the highest degree, notwithstanding the propensity which the Emperor, for political reasons, discovered to the cause of the Bishop of Rome. The arrogance of Leo IX., and his insolent letters, excited the highest indignation in the breast of Cerularius, and produced a personal aversion to the audacious Pontiff, which inflamed, instead of healing, the wounds of the Church ; while, on the other hand, the Roman Legates gave many and evident proofs, that the design of their embassy was not to restore peace and concord, but to establish among the Greeks the supreme authority, and the ghostly dominion of the Roman Pontiff. Thus all hopes of a happy conclusion of these miserable divisions entirely vanished ; and the Roman Legates finding their efforts ineffectual to overcome the vigorous resistance of Cerularius, they with the highest insolence, as well as imprudence, excommunicated publicly, in the Church of St. Sophia, A. D. 1054, the Grecian Patriarch, with Leo of Anchrida, and all their adherents ; and leaving a written act of their inhuman imprecations and anathemas upon the grand altar of that temple, they “shook the dust off their feet,” and thus departed. This violent step rendered the evil incurable, which it was before not only possible, but perhaps easy, to remedy. The Grecian

Patriarch imitated the vehemence of the Roman Legates, and did from resentment, what they had perpetrated from a principle of ambition and arrogance. He excommunicated these Legates with all their adherents and followers, in a public Council, and procured an order from the Emperor, for burning the act of excommunication which they had pronounced against the Greeks. These vehement measures were followed, on both sides, with a multitude of controversial writings, that were filled with the most bitter and irritating invectives, and served no other purpose, than to add fuel to the flame.

Being taken prisoner by his enemies, and led captive to Benevento, dismal reflections upon his unhappy fate preyed upon Leo's spirits, and threw him into a dangerous illness, so that after a year's imprisonment, he was sent to Rome, where he concluded his days on the 16th of April, 1054.

After the death of Leo, the Papal Chair was filled, in the year 1055, by Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt, who assumed the name of Victor II., and, after governing the Church about three years, was succeeded by Stephen IX., brother to Godfrey, Duke of Lorrain, who died a few months after his election. Nothing memorable happened under the administration of these two Pontiffs. Gerrard, Bishop of Florence, who obtained the Papacy A. D. 1051, and took the name of Nicholas II., makes a greater figure in history than several of his predecessors. We pass in silence John, Bishop of Veletri, who usurped the Pontificate, as also the title of Benedict X., after the death of Stephen, and was deposed with ignominy, after having possessed, about nine months, the dignity, to which he had no other title than what he derived from lawless violence.

Nicholas, upon the removal of this usurper, assembled a Council at Rome, A. D. 1059, in which, among many salutary laws, designed to heal the inveterate disorders that had afflicted the Church, one remarkable Decree was passed, for changing the ancient form of electing the Roman Pontiff. This alteration was designed to prevent the tumults and commotions which arose in Rome, and the factions which divided Italy,

when a new Pope was to be elected. Though Nicholas II. had expressly acknowledged and confirmed, in his edict, the right of the Emperor to ratify, by his consent, the election of the Pontiff, his eyes were no sooner closed, than the Romans, at the instigation of Hildebrand, Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of Rome, violated this Imperial privilege in the most presumptuous manner. For they not only elected to the Pontificate, Anselm, Bishop of Lucia, who assumed the name of Alexander II., but also solemnly installed him in that high office, without so much as consulting the Emperor, Henry IV., or giving him the least information of the matter. Agnes, the mother of the young Emperor, no sooner received an account of this irregular transaction, by the Bishops of Lombardy, to whom the election of Anselm was extremely disagreeable, than she assembled a Council at Basil, and, in order to maintain the authority of her son, who was yet a minor, caused Cado-la-us, Bishop of Parma, to be created Pontiff, under the title of Honorius II. Hence arose a long and furious contest between the two rival Pontiffs, who maintained their respective pretensions by the force of arms, and presented a scene of bloodshed and horror in the Church of Christ, which was designed to be the centre of charity and peace. In this violent contention Alexander triumphed, though he could never induce his obstinate adversary to desist from his pretensions.

Before the Pontificate of Nicholas, the Popes were chosen, not only by the suffrages of the Cardinals, but also by those of the whole Roman Clergy, the nobility, the burgesses, and the assembly of the people. To increase the Papal influence, and to limit that of the lower Clergy, and of the people, as much as was possible, this artful and provident Pontiff had a law passed, by which the Cardinals were empowered, upon a vacancy in the See of Rome, to elect a new Pope, without any prejudice to the privileges of the Roman Emperors in this important matter. Not that the rest of the Clergy, with the burgesses and people, were wholly excluded from all part in this election, since their consent was solemnly demanded, and also esteemed of much weight; but in consequence of this new regulation, the Cardinals acted the principal part in the crea-

tion of the new Pontiff; though they suffered, for a long time, much opposition, both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained, of confirming the election of every new Pope by their approbation and consent. In the following century, an end was put to all these disputes by Alexander III., who was so fortunate as to complete what Nicholas had only begun, and who transferred and confined to the college of Cardinals, the right of electing to the Apostolic See, excluding the nobility, the people, and the rest of the Clergy, from all concern in this important matter. The character of the various Pontiffs at this time, is thus summed up by Genebrard, a Roman Catholic writer: "For nearly one hundred and fifty years, about fifty Popes, viz., from John VIII. to Leo IX., revolted altogether from the virtue of their predecessors, being rather apostate than apostolic."

We now come to the turbulent Pontificate of Hildebrand, originally a Monk of the order of Cluny, who found means to obtain a Cardinal's hat; and, subsequently, the Papal Throne itself.

He was a man of a restless, fiery, and enterprising disposition; but chiefly remarkable for his furious zeal for the pretensions of the Church. He was born at Soana, in Tuscany, of obscure parents, brought up at Rome, and had been frequently employed by that court to manage various political concerns which required dexterity and resolution, and he had rendered himself famous in all parts of Italy for his zeal and intrepidity. Hildebrand had interest enough to procure himself to be elected to the Pontifical Chair in the year 1073, on the same day that Alexander was interred, by the title of Gregory VII.; and the Papacy has not produced a more extraordinary character. "All that the malice or flattery of a multitude of writers has said of this Pope," says Voltaire, "is concentrated in a portrait of him drawn by a Neapolitan artist, in which Gregory is represented as holding a crook in one hand, and a whip in the other, trampling sceptres under his feet, with St. Peter's net and fishes on either side of him." Gregory

was installed by the people of Rome, without consulting the Emperor, as had hitherto been customary ; but though Henry had not been consulted upon the occasion, Gregory prudently waited for his confirmation of the choice, before he assumed the tiara. He obtained it by this mark of submission ; the Emperor confirmed his election ; and the new Pontiff was not dilatory in pulling off the mask, for in a little time he raised a storm, which fell with violence upon the head of Henry, and shook all the thrones in Christendom. He began his Pontificate with excommunicating every ecclesiastic who should receive a benefice from a layman, and every layman by whom such benefice should be conferred. This was engaging the Church in an open war with all the Sovereigns of Europe. It is evident, indeed, that Gregory formed the project of making himself lord of Christendom, by at once dissolving the jurisdiction which Kings and Emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the Clergy, and subjecting to the Papal authority all temporal Princes, rendering their dominions tributary to the See of Rome ; and, however romantic the undertaking may appear, it was not altogether without success. Solomon, King of Hungary, was at that time dethroned by his cousin Geysa, and fled to Henry for protection, renewing his homage to the latter as head of the empire. Gregory, who favoured the cause of the usurper, exclaimed against this act of submission, and said, in a letter to Solomon, “ You ought to know that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman Church ; and learn, that you will incur the indignation of the Holy See, if you do not acknowledge that you hold your dominion of the Pope, and not of the Emperor.”

This presumptuous declaration, and the neglect with which it was treated, brought the quarrel between the Empire and the Church to a crisis : it was directed to Solomon, but intended for Henry. “ The pretensions of the Romish Church had, at this time,” says Mr. Southey, “ been carried to the highest pitch by Gregory VII., one of those restless spirits who obtain an opprobrious renown in history, for disturbing the age in which they live.” The Romanists themselves acknowledge now the inordinate ambition of this haughty Pontiff, who may be

deemed the founder of the Papal dominion; but during many centuries, he was held up as an object of admiration to the Christian world, and still holds his place as a saint, in the Romish Calendar. His sanctity, the legends of that Church relate, was prefigured in childhood, by sparks proceeding from his garments, and by a lambent light which appeared to issue from his head. He himself affirmed, that, in a dream, there went forth fire from his mouth, which set the world in flames; and his enemies, who vilified him as a sorcerer, admitted that such a vision was appropriate to one who was indeed a fire-brand. Another of his dreams was, that he saw St. Paul clearing out dung from his church, wherein cattle had taken shelter, and calling upon him to assist him in the work; and certain persons who were keeping vigils in St. Peter's Church, beheld, in a waking vision, St. Peter and Hildebrand labouring at the same task. By such artifices his reputation for sanctity was established among the people, while he obtained promotion for his activity and talents; till, at length, rather by intrigue and popular outcry, than by canonical election, he was chosen Pope. Hitherto, the Popes had recognized the supremacy of the Emperors, by notifying to them their election before they were consecrated, and having that ceremony performed in the presence of an Imperial envoy. Hildebrand conformed to this, being conscious that his elevation was informal, and glad to have it thus ratified. The use he made of the power which he had thus obtained, was to throw off all dependence upon the temporal authority, and establish a system, whereby Rome should again become the mistress of the world. A grander scheme never was devised by human ambition; and wild as it may appear, it was, at that time, in many points so beneficial, that the most upright men might conscientiously have laboured to advance it. Whether the desire of benefiting mankind had any place among the early impulses of Hildebrand, may be well doubted, upon the most impartial consideration of his conduct; but in preparing the way for an intolerable tyranny, and the worst of all abuses, he began by reforming abuses, and vindicating legal rights. Such a government Hildebrand would have founded. Christendom, if his plans had been

accomplished, would have become a federal body, the Kings and Princes of which should have bound themselves to obey the Vicar of Christ, not only as their spiritual, but their temporal lord; and their disputes, instead of being decided by the sword, were to have been referred to a Council of Prelates, annually assembled at Rome. Unhappily, the personal character of this extraordinary man counteracted the pacific part of his schemes; and he became the firebrand of Europe, instead of the peace-maker. If, indeed, the Papal Chair could always have been occupied by such men as S. Carlo Borromeo, or Fenelon, and the ranks of the hierarchy throughout all Christian kingdoms, always have been filled, as they ought to have been, by subjects chosen for their wisdom and piety, such a scheme would have produced as much benefit to the world as has ever been imagined in Utopian romance, and more than it has ever yet enjoyed under any of its revolutions. But to suppose this possible, is to presuppose the prevalence of Christian principles, to an extent which would render any such government unnecessary,—for the kingdom of heaven would then be commenced on earth. Hitherto, the Princes of Christendom had enjoyed the right of nominating Bishops and Abbots, and of giving them investiture by the ring and crosier. The Popes, on their part, had been accustomed to send legates to the Emperors to entreat their assistance, to obtain their confirmation, or to desire them to come and receive Papal sanction. Gregory, now resolving to push the claim of investitures, sent two of his legates to summon Henry to appear before him as a delinquent, because he still continued to bestow investitures, notwithstanding the Papal decree to the contrary: adding, that if he failed to yield obedience to the Church, he must expect to be excommunicated and dethroned. This arrogant message, from one whom he regarded as his vassal, greatly provoked Henry, who abruptly dismissed the legates, and lost no time in convoking an assembly of Princes and dignified Ecclesiastics at Worms, where, after mature deliberation, they came to this conclusion: that Gregory having usurped the Chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the Church of God with many novelties and abuses, and deviated

from his duty to his Sovereign in several instances, the Emperor, by the supreme authority derived from his predecessors, ought to divest him of his dignity, and appoint a successor. In the articles of accusation, it was, among other things, imputed to Gregory, that he was an apostate Monk, an incendiary, a sacrilegist, a murderer, a liar, an abettor of adultery and incest. Henry, consequently, sent an ambassador to Rome, with a formal deprivation of Gregory, who, in his turn, convoked a Council, at which were present one hundred and ten Bishops, who unanimously agreed that the Pope had just cause to depose Henry, to annul the oath of allegiance which the Princes and States had taken in his favour, and to prohibit them from holding any correspondence with him, on pain of excommunication. Hildebrand's language was, that if Kings presumed to disobey the edicts of the Apostolic See, they were cut off from participating in the body and blood of Christ, and forfeited their dignities; for if that See had power to determine and judge in things celestial and spiritual, how much more in things earthly and temporal? The Church, he affirmed, had power to give, or take away, all empires, kingdoms, duchies, principalities, marquisates, counties, and possessions of all men whatsoever. A sentence of deprivation was immediately fulminated against the Emperor and his adherents. "In the name of Almighty God, and by your authority," said Gregory, addressing the members of the Council, "I prohibit Henry from governing the Teutonic Kingdom and Italy. I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him; and I strictly forbid all persons to serve or attend him as King." This is the first instance of a Pope presuming to deprive a Sovereign of his crown; but, unhappily, it was too flattering to ecclesiastical pride to be the last. Gregory well knew what consequences would result from the thunders of the Church. The Bishops in Germany immediately came over to his party, and drew with him many of the nobles. The Saxons took the opportunity of revolting; even the Emperor's favourite, Guelf, a nobleman to whom he had given the Duchy of Bavaria, supported the malcontents with that very power which he owed to his Sovereign's bounty; and the Princes and

Prelates who had assisted in deposing Gregory, gave up their Monarch to be tried by the Pope, who was requested to come to Augsburg for that purpose. To avoid the odium of this impending trial, Henry submitted to the degradation of preparing to throw himself at the feet of the Pontiff, to solicit absolution. It was some time before the Pontiff would admit the Monarch into his presence, and when the order was issued for the purpose, it was on the condition that he should enter without attendants, at the outer gate of Canosa, a fortress on the Appenines; and at the next gate, he was required to divest himself of the ensigns of royalty, and put on a coarse, woollen tunic, in which dress, and barefooted, he was suffered to stand for three whole days at the third gate, exposed to the severity of the weather, in the month of February, 1077, fasting, and imploring the mercy of God and the Pope. The Pope, from one of the windows of his castle, where he was seated with Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, whose close intimacy with Gregory led to well-founded suspicions of his virtue, enjoyed the exquisite pleasure of seeing an Emperor, in sackcloth and bareheaded, at his gate. At length, the persons of distinction who were with Gregory, affected at the sufferings of the King, began to complain of the severity of his Holiness, which, they said, was more becoming a tyrant than an apostolical father, or a judge. These reports were carried to the Pope, who, on the fourth day, admitted the King, and, after much difficulty, granted him absolution. This detestable accommodation justly excited the indignation of the Princes and Bishops of Italy, who were more enraged at Gregory's arrogance, than at Henry's meanness. Taking advantage of these favourable symptoms in his behalf, and by a change of fortune hitherto unknown to the German Emperors, Henry, when abandoned by his own subjects, formed a strong party in Italy. All Lombardy took up arms against the Pope, while the latter was raising all Germany against the Emperor. The former had recourse to every art to procure the election of another Emperor, in which he at length succeeded, the Germans choosing Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, Emperor, in Henry's room. The flames of war were now kindled both in Germany

and Italy, and involved, for a long period, those unhappy regions in every variety of misery. Henry having been defeated by the Saxons in 1080, Gregory again excommunicated him, depriving him of strength in combat, and condemning him never to be victorious.

Having called on the world to take notice, that it is in the Pope's power to take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, &c., and to bestow them on whomsoever he pleases, Gregory addresses the Apostles, Peter and Paul, in the following extraordinary language:—"Make all men sensible, that as you can bind and loose every thing in heaven, you can also upon earth, take from, or give to, every one according to his deserts, empires, kingdoms, principalities. Let the Kings and Princes of the age instantly feel your power, that they may not dare to despise the orders of your Church; and let your justice be so speedily executed upon Henry, that nobody may doubt of his falling by your means, and not by chance."

Henry, however, not only triumphed over his enemies in subsequent engagements, but having, by the suffrages of several of the German and Italian Bishops, elected another Pope, who assumed the name of Clement III., he marched to settle the new Pontiff in the Papal Chair. The gates of Rome being shut against him, he was compelled to attack the city in form. After a siege of two years, it was taken by assault, and with difficulty saved from pillage; but Gregory retired into the castle of St. Angelo, whence he hurled defiance, and fulminated his anathemas against the conqueror. The siege of St. Angelo was prosecuted with vigour, but in the absence of Henry, Gregory found means to escape, and died soon after at Salerno, in 1085."

That Gregory had formed the audacious plan of subjecting all the thrones of Europe to the Roman See, is undoubtedly evident, both from his own epistles, and also from other authentic records of antiquity. The nature of the oath he drew up for the King or Emperor of the Romans, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and allegiance, shows abundantly the arrogance of his pretensions. The treatment which the Clergy received at his hands, was not less cruel and

tyrannical than that which he manifested to the temporal power. With a total disregard to the finer feelings of our nature, he imposed on them a yoke, the ill effects of which their successors of the present day feel and deplore.

The plan which Gregory devised for subjecting the Priesthood to the See of Rome, and separating them from local attachments, and the interests of their respective countries, was one of the wisest and most politic that had ever been thought of, or put into execution. By tearing asunder the natural and social ties, which bound the Clergy to their families, their friends, and their country; he calculated that there would be as many adherents to the Roman See, ready and willing to pay implicit obedience to its paramount authority, as there were individual members of the Clerical Body throughout the Christian world. He accordingly extended the rule of *Celibacy*, which, before his time, was confined to the Monastic orders, and only partial in its application, to the Clergy at large. To no purpose, did they protest against the injustice and cruelty of a measure, which drew no distinction between the Priests, who felt desirous to imitate the Greek Clergy in the espousal of one wife, and the sensual polygamist; or between chaste wedlock, and licentious concubinage. The law was resisted in those countries, where political circumstances precluded the Romish Church from exercising its full power. In Bohemia, this resistance was one of the causes which prepared the people for Wickliffe's doctrine, when Huss was raised up as the precursor of Luther. In Spain, the Clergy continued to marry long after the extirpation of the Albigenses, who derived from that country a main part of their strength; and their marriages were not merely tolerated, but recognised by the ecclesiastical laws. In the kingdoms where the triumphs of the Regulars over the Secular Clergy, and of the Papal See over the National Church, was more complete, the Priests, being deterred from marrying, lived in concubinage, which was either open or secret, according to the views of the Monarch, or the temper of the Primate.

Then, indeed, when it was rendered impossible for the Priest to discharge his duty towards the woman who had been the

faithful partner of his life, and towards their children; and when, in consequence, women who had any worth were deterred, by the prospect of want and infamy, or of slavery for themselves and their offspring, from entering into such connexions, the sure effect of these iniquitous and unchristian laws was manifested, in the reckless profligacy of the Priesthood. For the heart of man never lies idle. If the domestic charities are not cultivated there, vices will spring up, like thorns and thistles in a neglected field.

The despotic views of this lordly Pontiff were, however, attended with less success in England, than in any other country. William, the Conqueror, was a Prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a Sovereign and independent Monarch; and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter, demanding the arrears of Peter Pence, and, at the same time, summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of England, as a fief of the Apostolic See, William granted the former, but refused the latter, with a noble obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of God only, and his own sword. Nothing was transacted in the Church, but by his direction; by his sole authority he banished or imprisoned the Bishops whom he did not like, without waiting for a canonical sentence. He went still farther, and set himself in some measure above the Popes, by forbidding his subjects to receive their orders, or acknowledge their authority, without his permission. "I will never," said the Monarch, "suffer any person who refuses me the securities of a subject, to enjoy estates in my dominions." He separated the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, with which they had hitherto been conjoined; and he deprived the Clergy of many of their lands, and subjected the rest to military service. Obligated to yield to the obstinacy of the English Monarch, whose name struck terror into the boldest hearts, the restless Pontiff addressed his imperious mandates where he imagined they would be received with more facility. Had the success of that Pontiff been equal to the extent of his insolent views, all the kingdoms of Europe would have been, at this day, tributary to the Roman See, and its Princes the soldiers or

vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended Vicar upon earth. But, though his most important projects were ineffectual, many of his attempts were crowned with a favorable issue ; for, from the time of his Pontificate, the face of Europe underwent a considerable change, and the prerogatives of the Emperors and other sovereign Princes were much diminished. The first idea of reconquering Palestine from the Arabs and the Turks, by an army of Christians, is attributed to Gregory VII. The cruelties which the Christians experienced in the days of the Fatimite Caliphs, gave rise to new feelings in the nations of the West. Every pilgrim brought home tales of public sacrilege or individual misery ; and though some gloomy minds might consider afflictions as the essence of pilgrimage, and were therefore slow in separating the superfluous from the necessary pains ; yet, upon general considerations, it was evidently a disgrace that the followers of Christ should dwell only by sufferance in the country of their Master, and that Pagans should be possessors of a land which He had consecrated by his presence.

An encyclical letter was sent from Rome to the States and Princes of the West, acquainting them with the melancholy fact, that the Pagans were overcoming the Christians. The people of Christ had been slain like sheep, and their remorseless murderers had carried their devastations even to the walls of the Imperial city. The faithful ought to lament for the misfortunes of the empire, and the miseries of their brethren ; they should not, however, lament only ; but, following the example of their divine Master, they should give up their lives for their friends. Accordingly, fifty thousand men prepared themselves to rescue the Christians of the East, and to arrest the march of Islamism.

So highly was Gregory elated at the ambitious prospect, which the application of Manuel and the armament of Europe opened to his mind, that he even determined to lead the sacred host, and to commit the custody of the Holy See to his great compeer, Henry IV. of Germany. But all ideas of a crusade soon died away, and the Pope deserted the general interests of religion, in his ambitious attempts to establish the

supreme dominion of Papal royalty over the whole of Europe. With him also originated those pardons for another life, whatever crimes might be committed in this; those bills of exchange on heaven, for which, in the end, the Popes paid so dearly on earth, and the traffic in which, carried to a disgusting excess, became the first accidental cause of the Reformation. Mosheim has thus summed up the character of this celebrated Pontiff. "He was," says that author, "a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition, in forming the most arduous projects, was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable, he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wistful eye, and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardor and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits from the dictates of religion, or the remonstrances of conscience." The death of Gregory, in 1084, neither restored peace to the Church, nor tranquillity to the state; the tumults and divisions which he had excited, still continued, and they were augmented, from day to day, by the same passions to which they owed their origin. His successors, like himself, exercised a ruthless tyranny over the Potentates of Christendom; they deposed and excommunicated Kings, and released their subjects from their oaths of allegiance. Retributive justice, however, was sometimes visited on them; and made them feel that, if they had the power of afflicting others, they themselves were not beyond the reach of punishment.

On the death of Gregory, Victor III. was most reluctantly elevated to the vacant Chair. He was of a character entirely opposite to that of Gregory: modest and timorous, he was of a mild and gentle disposition, and finding the Chair of St. Peter beset with factions, and the city of Rome under the dominion of a rival Pope, Clement III., he retired to his monastery, where he soon after ended his days in peace, A. D. 1088.

During the Pontificate of Victor, Clement maintained him-

self at Rome ; nor was his successor, Urban II., with all his efforts, able to reduce the city of Rome under his lordly yoke. In this Pontificate the project of Gregory VII. became realized, as was the Holy Land the object of desire, and the grave of hope, to thousands. Of the wars, undertaken for its recovery from the infidels, occupying as they do a distinguished place in the annals of Europe, and most interesting in themselves, some account must now be given.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

IN times when a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was regarded as the duty of every Christian, and when war was the occupation of Europe, Peter, a native of Amiens, in France, kindled that false and fatal zeal, which, for two centuries, spread its devastating and consuming fires. In his youth, he performed feudal military service under the banners of Eustace de Boillon, father of Godfrey VI., Duke of Lorraine ; but he did not long aspire after the honours of a hero. His next characters were those of a Priest and an anchorite ; and since, in his subsequent life, he was usually clad in the weeds of a solitary, his contemporaries surnamed him, the Hermit. As the last means of expiating some errors of his early days, he resolved to undergo the pains and perils of a journey to the Holy Land. When he started from the shade of obscurity, his small and mean person was macerated by austerities ; his face was thin and careworn, but his eye spoke thought and feeling, and atoned for the general insignificance of his appearance : his imagination was sanguine, but his judgment was weak ; and,

therefore, his long-continued speculations upon religion in the cloister and cell, ended in dreams of rapture. He fancied himself invested with divine authority; and what, in truth, was but the vision of a heated mind, he believed to be a communication from heaven.

He accomplished his journey to Palestine, and, on his arrival at Jerusalem, went through the usual course of prayers and processions. The sacrilegious and inhuman barbarities of the Turks had excited the indignation of every pilgrim, and affected, in the strongest manner, the ardent fancy of Peter. With his host, a Latin Christian, he conversed on the subject of the existing distresses of the faithful, the triumph of infidelity, and the ancient grandeur and modern degradation of the Holy City. In the Patriarch Symeon, too, the hermit found a kindred spirit; and, by means of an interpreter, they communicated their opinions and feelings. The churchman's account of the afflictions of the people of God was met, not only with tears, but the reiterated question, whether no way could be discovered to soften and to terminate them. Symeon declared that these misfortunes were the consequences of sin; that the remedy and the redress could not be found among the Greeks, who had already lost half their empire, but among the great nations of the West, whose strength was unimpaired. The Hermit replied, that if the people of Europe had certain evidence of these facts, they would provide a remedy: "Write, therefore," he continued, "both to the Pope, and to the Romish Church, and to all the Latin Christians, and affix to your letter the seal of your office. As a penance for my sins, I will travel over Europe; I will describe to Princes and people the degraded state of the Church, and will urge them to repair it."

Possessed of his credentials, but principally trusting in the virtue of his cause, Peter returned to Europe, and repaired to Pope Urban II., who was disputing with Guibert, the friend of the Emperor, for the Pontificate. The tale was eagerly listened to by the Pope. Urban was religious, in the sense in which his age understood religion, and he therefore lamented the direful state of Jerusalem; he was humane, and his tears

flowed for the insulted and distressed pilgrims. He had been patronized by Gregory VII., through all the course of ecclesiastical dignities, and had succeeded to the ambition, as well as to the power, of his master.

It might have been supposed, that when the head of Christendom had adopted the cause of the pilgrims, individual exertion would have been useless. But, devoted to his object, and swelled in self-importance, by his influence with the Pope, Peter resolved to preach deliverance of the Sepulchre; he accordingly traversed Italy and France. His dress expressed self-abasement and mortification; it was only a coarse woollen shirt, and a hermit's mantle; his mode of living was abstemious, but his qualities did not consist of those selfish penances, which are the usual virtues of the recluse.

His exhortations to vengeance on the Turks were heard with rapture, because they reflected the religious sentiments of the day. The love also of romantic adventure, and the desire of chivalric danger, sympathized with the advice of the preacher. Religion and heroism were in unison.

When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation, when he challenged the warriors of the age, to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour. His ignorance of art and language, was compensated by sighs, tears, and ejaculations; and Peter supplied the deficiency of reason, by loud and frequent appeals to Christ, and his Mother, to the Saints and angels of Paradise, with whom (he pretended) he had personally conversed.

In order to rouse and concentrate the mighty powers of holy zeal, Urban assembled two Councils of Clergy and Laymen, one in Italy, the seat of his influence, and the other in France, whither he had been invited by Raymond, Count of Tholouse, and the Bishop of Charges.

Individuals of every class of Laymen, and every rank of the ecclesiastic order, flocked to Clermont, from all parts of France and Germany; and the deliberations were carried on in an open square, for no hall could contain the unprecedented multitude. The neighbouring villages and towns were full of

men, and the poorest people were happy in the shelter of tents. The Pope ascended the pulpit, and exhorted his anxious auditors to make war on the enemies of God. "You recollect," said he, "my dearest brethren, from human frailty, that you have erred, and that, deceived by the speciousness of vice, you have exasperated the long-suffering of God, by too lightly regarding his forbearance; to you, however, now suffering this perilous shipwreck of sin, a secure haven of rest is offered, unless you neglect it. A station of perpetual safety will be awarded you, for the exertion of a trifling labour against the Turks. Go then prosperously, go then with confidence, to attack the enemies of God, for they, long since, O sad reproach to Christians, have seized Syria, Armenia, and lastly, all Asia Minor, the provinces of which are, Bithynia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lydia, Caria, Pamphylia, Isauria, Licia, Cilicia, and now they insolently domineer over Illyricum, and all the higher countries, even to the sea, which is called the Straits of St. George. Nay, they usurp even the Sepulchre of our Lord, that singular assurance of faith; and sell to our pilgrims, admissions to that city, which ought, had they a trace of their ancient courage left, to be open to Christians only. Thus endued with skill and valour, you undertake a memorable expedition. You will be extolled throughout all ages, if you rescue your brethren from danger. To those present, in God's name, I command this; to the absent, I enjoin it: let such as are going to fight for Christianity, put the form of the cross upon their garments, that they may outwardly demonstrate the love arising from their inward faith, enjoying, by the gift of God, and the privilege of St. Peter, absolution from all their crimes. Let this, in the meantime, soothe the labours of their journey, satisfied that they shall obtain, after death, the advantage of a blessed martyrdom. Expect for the firmness of your faith, even horrible punishments, that so, if it be necessary, you may redeem your souls at the expense of your bodies. Do you fear death, you men of exemplary courage, and intrepidity? Surely human wickedness can devise nothing against you, worthy to be put in competition with heavenly glory; for the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which

shall be revealed in us. Know you not, that for men to live, is wretchedness, and happiness to die? Rid God's sanctuary of the wicked, expel the robbers, bring in the pious, let no love of relations detain you, for man's chiefest love is towards God. Let no attachment to your native soil be an impediment, because, in different points of view, all the world is exile to the Christian, and all the world his country; thus exile is his country, and his country exile. Those who may die, will enter the mansions of heaven, while the living shall behold the Sepulchre of the Lord. And what can be greater happiness, than for a man in his lifetime to see those places, where the Lord of heaven was conversant, as a man? Blessed are they, who, called to their occupations, shall inherit such a recompence; fortunate are those, who are led to such a conflict, that they may partake of such rewards."

Cries of *Deus vult! Deus lo vult! Dieu el volt!* interrupted the Pontiff.

"It is indeed the will of God," replied his Holiness, "and let this memorable saying, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation; wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark on your breast, or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagements."

Tears, and groans, and acclamations of assent and applause, were the answers of the Christian multitude to the exhortation of their spiritual Lord. The whole assembly knelt, and the Cardinal Gregory poured forth, in their name, a general confession of sins. Every one smote his breast with sorrow, and the Pope, stretching forth his hands, absolved and blessed them.

The preaching of Peter, the entreaties of Alexius, the Councils of Placentia, and Clermont, and the exertions of the Pope, all these concurrent causes, enkindled the elements of combustion; turned the people of the West, from intestine discord, to foreign war; from dull superstition, to furious zeal. The military enthusiast heard the voice of Charlemagne, calling the French to glory; the religious fanatic, eagerly and credulously, listened to tales of visions and dreams; every

wonderful event in the natural world, was regarded as an indication of the divine will; meteors and stars, pointed at, fell on the road to Jerusalem; the skies were involved in perpetual storms, and the blaze and terror of anxious and disordered nature, showed the terrific harmony of heaven, with the sanguinary fury of earth. Man fully responded to the supposed call of God; the moral fabric of Europe was convulsed, the relations and charities of life were broken, society appeared to be dissolved, persons of every age, rank, and degree, assumed the cross, the storm of public feeling was raised, and neither reason, nor authority, could guide its course; the prohibition of women from undertaking the journey, was passed over in contemptuous silence; they separated themselves from their husbands, where men wanted faith, or resolved to follow them with their helpless infants. Monks, not waiting for the permission of their superiors, threw aside their black mourning gowns, and issued from their cloisters, full of the spirit of holy warriors. They who had devoted themselves to a solitary life, mistook the impulses of passion, for divine regulations, and thought that heaven had annulled their oaths of retirement. A stamp of virtue was fixed upon every one who embraced the cause, and many were urged to the semblance of religion, by shame, reproach, and fashion. The numerous cases of hypocrisy attested the commanding influence of the general religious principle; they who had been visited by criminal justice, were permitted to expiate in the service of God, their sins against the world; the pretence of debtors was admitted, that the calls of heaven were of greater obligation, than any claims of man. Murderers, adulterers, robbers, and pirates, quitted their iniquitous pursuits, and declared that they would wash away their sins in the blood of Infidels: in short, thousands, nay, millions, of armed saints and sinners, ranged themselves to fight the battles of the Lord. All nations were enveloped in the whirlpool of superstition: it was people, and not merely armies; countries, and not only their military representatives, that thought they had received the divine command, to unsheath the sword of the Almighty, and to redeem the Sepulchre of Christ.

In the spring of the year 1096, the masses of European population began to roll; but the roads were too narrow for the passengers, the paths were obstructed by the number of travellers. When families divided, nature and fanaticism contended for the mastery.

The first body of the Champions of the Cross, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and only eight horsemen, was led by Walter, a gentleman of Burgundy, whose poverty, that evil being more remarkable than his military pretensions, gave him the cognomen of the Pennyless. The people swept along from France to Hungary; ardent and impetuous, they calculated not the difficulty of the way. The people regarded the pilgrims only as so many savage invaders, and the representative of Alexius forbade all commerce. The cravings of hunger were importunate and irresistible, and the mob of Walter turned their arms against the unfriendly Bulgarians. The din of battle sounded through the whole country; but the natives possessed so many local advantages in the contest, that they gained complete success. Walter, with a few of his associates, escaped through the woods of Bulgaria, found his way to Constantinople, and Alexius promised him protection till the arrival of Peter.

Forty thousand men, women, and children, of all nations and languages, were accompanied, we cannot say guided, by the Hermit Peter himself: they followed the route of Walter. The promise of Peter to Carloman, for the orderly conduct of his companions, was accepted. When the mob arrived at Malleville, the sight of the arms and crosses of their precursors on the battlements in triumph, awoke their zeal, and kindled it into revenge. A furious assault on the walls was successful, and with a very small loss on the side of the invaders, seven thousand of the Hungarians were slain or taken prisoners. Virgin modesty was no protection, conjugal virtue no safeguard; and in the midst of their savage excesses, they vowed, that in such a way as that they would requite Turkish atrocities.

The engagement now became general, and ended in the route or destruction of ten thousand of Peter's rabble; their property, by rightful possession or plunder, was seized, with

their women, and Monks, and every other encumbrance of the camp. The Hermit abandoned himself to tears and despair, until some of his more enterprising friends recalled his scattered followers. The next day, seven thousand of them were assembled, and he continued his march, by degrees; other Crusaders left their hiding-places in the woods and mountains, and Peter found himself at the head of nearly thirty thousand people; but they were destitute of arms and money, and therefore could neither demand nor purchase supplies.

The Emperor, seeing their unfitness for war, commanded them to remain in Greece, till the arrival of armies. He supplied them with quarters, money, and provisions; but as soon as they recovered their strength, they repaid his generosity by deeds of flagitiousness on his people. Palaces and churches were plundered, to afford them means of intoxication and excess. Peter, and all those in whom enthusiasm had not been quite absorbed in the love of pillage, requested permission to pass into Bithynia. Alexius seized this desire, and assisted them to cross the Bosphorus. For two months they continued tranquil, but at the end of that time, they recommenced their excesses, with virulence and malevolence. Edifices sacred to religion were pillaged, and no consideration could make the wretches observe the Imperial recommendation of peace and good order, until the arrival of the military squadrons of Europe. Among the Crusaders, particularly distinguished for ferocity, were ten thousand Normans or French. That they destroyed children at the breast, and scattered their quivering limbs in the air, is the charge of the Grecian historian: that their crimes were enormous, is the general confession of the Latin writers.

Before Europe glittered with the pomp and splendor of chivalry, another herd of wild and desperate savages scourged and devastated the world. They issued from England, France, Flanders, and Lorraine. Their avowed principle of union was the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre. When the measure of murder and robbery was full, the infernal multitude proceeded on their journey. Two hundred thousand people, of whom only three thousand were horsemen, entered Hungary.

They hurried on to the South, in their usual career of carnage and rapine; but when they came to Mersbourg, their passage was opposed by an Hungarian army. Their cowardice was as abject as their boldness had been ferocious: and the Hungarians pursued them with such slaughter, that the waters of the Danube were for days red with their blood. So horrible were the barbarities of the European mob, that we can feel no regret for the disastrous issues of popular fervor. More than a quarter of a million of wretched fanatics perished in the first great convulsion of enthusiasm, and the Mussulman banners still floated over the walls of Jerusalem. While the bones of the Croises were whitening on the plains of Nice, or putrefying in the marshes of Hungary, the feudal princes of Europe were collecting their tenants and retainers, and arraying them for war.

The chief who was greatest in respect of personal merit, and inferior to few in political importance, was Godfrey VI., Lord of Bouillon, Marquis of Anvers, and Duke of Brabant, or the Lower Lorraine. He was apparently destined to act a great part on the theatre of the world, for nature had bounteously bestowed upon him her choicest gifts. His understanding was enriched with such knowledge and learning as his times possessed. The gentlest manners were united to the firmest spirit; the amiableness of virtue to its commanding gravity. He was alike distinguished for political courage and for personal bravery. His lofty mind was capable of the grandest enterprises. His deportment was moral, his piety was fervent; and he appeared, perhaps, to be better fitted for a cloister of reformed Monks, than for the command of a furious and licentious soldiery. He regretted the stern necessity which drew him from the immediate service of God: but when in arms, he was a hero; and his martial zeal in the cause of Heaven was always directed by prudence, and tempered by philanthropy. In the wars between the Emperor and the Popes, he took the part of Henry IV.; he received the distinction of bearing the Imperial standard; and his own heroical valour changed the tide of victory, and gave the throne to his friend. But the blast of the holy trumpet roused his martial

and religious spirit ; and he resolved to go to the Holy Land, if God would restore his health. “ Immediately,” says Malmsbury, “ he shook disease from his limbs, and rising with expanded breast, as it were, from years of decrepitude, he shone with renovated youth.” The army comprised the Frisons, the Lorrainers, and indeed all the votaries of the Sepulchre who dwelt between the Rhine and the Elbe.

While Godfrey was leading the armies of Lorraine and Northern Germany through the Hungarian marshes, Hugh, the Great Earl, Count of Vermandois, and brother of the French King, was calling to his side the armed pilgrims from Flanders and England, and the middle and north of France. His virtues and personal graces were worthy of a royal race. He was a brave and accomplished cavalier ; but as he was not deeply imbued with a devotional spirit, like that of Godfrey, his consciousness of merit was unrestrained by religious humility, and it displayed itself in a proud and lofty deportment. The knights of honorable name who marched with the Capetian Prince, were as numerous as the Grecian warriors at the siege of Troy.

Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, embraced the martial and religious cause with a furious and precipitate passion. He mortgaged his Duchy to his brother Rufus for ten thousand marks, and attached himself to the army of Hugh. When called upon to speak and act, the Duke was eloquent and skilful ; but his accomplishments were not sustained by the silent and solid virtues of prudence and good sense ; and so viciously easy was his disposition, that he was unfit to rule over a turbulent and half-uncivilized people. The soldiers of Hugh pursued a shorter road than the often-beaten track through Hungary. They crossed the Alps into Italy, with the intention of embarking from some of its harbours, and proceeding by sea to the Holy Land. They found Pope Urban at Lucca, and their leader received from him the standard of St. Peter.

The next array of mighty men at arms that joined the assembled troops of Godfrey, Hugh, Tancred, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, was commanded by Raymond, Duke of

Narbonne, and Count of Provence, Toulouse, and Roverque. His coldness of temper and dignity of manner, gave to vulgar minds ideas of greatness and wisdom : but he was selfish and avaricious ; his pride made him susceptible and retentive of injuries, though it generally restrained him from immoral ways of revenge. Lord of most of the South of France, he yet sighed for kingdoms in the East, and was inexorable in his hatred of the Mussulmans, for his proud soul was deeply stained with the intolerant spirit of the day, and he had often felt the power of his neighbours, the Spanish Saracens. The holy cause was embraced by William V., Lord of Montpellier, Raynouard, Viscount of Turenne, and a numerous troop of Knights and Barons of Southern France and Northern Spain. Their route was different from that of the other Crusaders, for they passed through Lombardy into Dalmatia. Forty days were occupied in the march from the Forum Julii to the confines of Epirus ; and those were days of fatigue and privation. Ignorant of the regular passes over the mountains, the pilgrims followed their own erring conjectures, and were almost lost in the marshes, through their foggy atmosphere and continual darkness.

In those parts of the country, where man had but little improved the bounties of nature, scanty provisions only could be expected for one hundred thousand soldiers. Such swarms alarmed the peasantry, who retired across the mountains, and then, having placed their flocks and herds in safety, made irregular but dreadful attacks upon their invaders. The skill of the Count of Tholouse was severely tried in saving the women and priests, and other attendants of the camp. As objects of terror to the enemy, he maimed and disfigured his prisoners ; and this exercise of cruelty was seasonable and effective.

The Crusaders overspread the plains of Nice, and, if early writers can be credited, seven hundred thousand was the number of soldiers and pilgrims. It is impossible to describe with perfect precision the nature of the military array ; but we can discern there were one hundred thousand horsemen clad in mail. Agreeably to the customs of chivalry, such of these

warriors as were Knights were attended by their squires, who carried their lances, their golden and ornamented shields, and led the fiery steeds on which the Cavaliers rode during the battle. Nor was the equipment complete, unless each equestrian soldier was accompanied and supported by some men at arms and infantry, who bore the standard, and were accoutred lighter than their chief. The offensive weapons of the cavalry were iron maces, lances, and swords. The bow was the principal weapon of the foot soldiers, who, agreeably to the tactics of the day, formed the first line of the army, and discharged flights of shafts and quarrels, until the heavily-armed troops engaged. Seven weeks were consumed in the siege of the capital of Bithynia; and the number of the Christians who died, or, in the language of the times, received martyrdom, was considerable. The morals of the Croises were of less questionable merit than the cause for which they were in arms. The camp presented the rare and edifying spectacle of a chaste and sober soldiery: and although not free from the common disposition of exalting past ages at the expense of the present, the confession was drawn from the severest censors, that there was far more virtue among the crusading warriors, than among the hosts of Israel in old time. The simplicity and purity of holy Church was revived. So affectionate was the union between the brotherhood, that all things were held in common. The Generals not only commanded and fought, but watched, and did the most humble duties of the camp: so that the officer and the soldier were scarcely to be distinguished. Artificial discipline was needless when virtue pervaded every part of their manners.

On the ninth day, subsequently to the capture of Nice, the Crusaders departed from the vicinity of the city, and took the road to Antioch. After a few days' march, in a southerly direction, where the army suffered much from heat and thirst, they separated by mutual consent into two bodies, and in that order pursued their route. After various vicissitudes of good and ill fortune, the armies arrived at Antioch, where famine was as productive of crimes as the most unbounded plenty. The Croises were in that state of sullen, savage desperation

which the extreme of misery often produces. The dying and the dead were spectacles so familiar to the eyes, that death no longer taught them morality. The exhortations of the clergy to virtue, though ceaseless, were in vain; and at the suggestion of the Papal Legate, judicial punishments were inflicted on moral crimes. Gaming, usury, drunkenness, and frauds in buying and selling, were cognizable by a tribunal, which was composed of Lay and Clerical Elders. Adhemar thought that conjugal affection was as sinful as immodest love, and that perfect chastity would be revisited by divine favour. The women, both vicious and modest, were therefore separated from the men, and placed in a remote corner of the camp. About the same time Godfrey rose from the bed of sickness, and the people had no difficulty in accounting for this consolation, by their return to piety. After much suffering, having taken Antioch, it was soon found that all the distresses of the Crusaders before the walls were nothing when compared with the horrors they suffered now that they were in possession of the city. So long as there was any food for the horses, the blood of these animals was drank, and then their flesh was devoured. Vegetables the most nauseous were greedily eaten; they boiled the leaves of trees; the skins of animals, and even the leather of the military accoutrements, were stewed for food. Nothing, indeed, was so foul and insipid in itself, but that famine rendered it palatable. Misery levelled all natural as well as artificial distinctions. The courage of the warrior, the pride of the nobleman, the dignified virtue of the matron, and the retired bashfulness of the virgin, all were reduced to the level of the ignoble and the vicious, by the cravings of unsatisfied and increasing hunger. The people begged and clamoured for food. All ranks felt the distress alike; and even Godfrey was at last left without horses or money. According to one writer, however, the poor wretches did not cease to cry, "Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name, be the praise!" or to reflect without pleasure, that the Lord chastens every son whom he receives. Resignation was perhaps the virtue of some; but all the army had not the courage of martyrs; and their minds were only kept from the horrors of despair, by the

faint hope that they might, ere long, be relieved by some new battalions of Crusaders. The ruin of the hopes of Christendom appeared inevitable, and no man could anticipate the recovery of the sacred places. Both valor and stratagem had done their best. One resource, more powerful than all the others, yet remained to be tried, and that resource was superstition. A Lombard Clerk preached to the Clergy and laity, the noble and ignoble, and endeavoured to dissipate their fears. He said that he remembered a pious Priest, in Italy, who, journeying to perform Mass before his Diocesan, was encountered by a pilgrim, who anxiously inquired his opinion on the subject of so many princes and nations going in holy company, to the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. He replied, "Some people think that the design has been inspired by God himself; others, that the action springs entirely from the levity of the French character; and that the misfortunes in Hungary and Bulgaria are judgments on them for want of their piety. For my part, I cannot decide between the conflicting sentiments." The pilgrim rejoined: "This expedition does not spring from the levity of the French people, but it has God for its author. The names of those are recorded in heaven as martyrs, who banish themselves from Europe in the name of Christ, and who lead a sober and religious life." The presbyter demanded the family and fortunes of the man who spoke with so much decision. "Know, then," he replied, "I am Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, servant of Christ: and in three years, the soldiers of the Lord, after having conquered various nations of Barbarians, and suffered many labours, shall enter Jerusalem in triumph." The story of the Lombard Clerk was received with credulity both by the chiefs, and by the ignorant populace, and served better than a philosophical treatise on resignation to preserve their patience. Before the effects of this tale had worn away, another Priest swore on the Gospels, that while he was at prayer, Jesus Christ, accompanied by his Mother and St. Peter, appeared to him, and said, "Knowest thou me?" the Priest answered "No:" a cross was then displayed on the head of the Saviour, and the astonished Priest acknowledged his Lord. The Son of Man exclaimed,

“ I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you the gates of Antioch ; and in return for these benefits, you have lost your religious name in infamous debaucheries with Pagan women.” At these words the Holy Virgin and St. Peter threw themselves at the feet of Jesus, and besought him to have mercy on his votaries. HE then said to Peter, “ Go tell my people, that if they will return to me, I will turn to them ; and in five days will give them the help which they want.” The Presbyter offered to verify his story by a fiery ordeal, but as the merit of faith rises in proportion to the weakness of testimony, the Bishop of Puy required merely a simple oath. Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, swore that they would never desert each other, or fly from the sacred cause, and Tancred showed his fanaticism or courage in the expression, that he would not abandon the siege of the citadel, or the journey to Jerusalem, so long as sixty soldiers were in his train. The succours of Heaven were not withheld from any want of devotion in the people : the temples were crowded, and the streets resounded with psalms and hymns. A Priest and a secular man were arrested in their flight, the one by his brother’s ghost, the other by Jesus Christ himself. Heavenly promises were mixed with reproaches, and the spectre of the mortal man declared, that the disembodied souls of the slain Christians would assist their friends in the day of battle. When superstition was at its height, a Provencal, or Lombard Clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, assured the chiefs that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and had shown him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. The Saint commanded him to tell the army, that that weapon would ward off all attacks of the enemy, and that the Count of Tholouse should support it. Expressions of joy and thankfulness from the chiefs rewarded the holy man, and superstition or policy bowed conviction to the tale.

Raymond, his Chaplain, and ten other men, were appointed to fetch the precious relic from its repository. After two days’ devotion to holy exercises, all the Croises marched in religious order to the church of St. Peter, and the chosen twelve entered

the walls. During a whole day the people waited with awful anxiety for the production of their sacred defence: the workmen digged in vain; their places were relieved by fresh and ardent labourers, who, like their predecessors, after much toil gave up the cause. When, however, the night came on, and the obscurity of nature was favorable to mysteriousness, Peter Barthelemy descended into the pit, and after searching a decent time, he cried aloud that the lance was found. The Chaplain of Raymond seized and embraced the relic; the people rushed into the church; incredulity was banished; and the astonished multitude blamed each other for the previous weakness of their faith.

In a moment twenty-six days of misery were forgotten; hope succeeded to despair, courage to cowardice: fanaticism renewed its dominion, and it was resolved that the sacred lance should pierce the hearts of their enemies, if the Turks would not depart in peace.

They polished their shields and sharpened their swords: what few provisions they had left, they freely gave to each other; and their horses (only two hundred) were allowed a double portion of provender. Temporal cares did not possess them wholly; they sung hymns, they prayed, made religious processions, confessed one to another, and in receiving the sacrament of the Holy Supper, they felt their anger kindled against the impious despisers of the efficacy of the death of Christ. The Clergy were seen in every church, and among each band of soldiers, promising forgiveness of sins to those who fought bravely. The Leaders of the army, the Bishops, and particularly the pious Adhemar, poured not their blessing only, but largesses of money and provisions; and now the people, who had seemed, just before, pale, wan, and spirit-broken, appeared with a bold and martial front, anticipating nothing but victory. Religion had changed all: every one felt that he was the man of God, and that, assisted by the Lance of his Saviour, he should discomfit his foes.

The next day was the day of battle; and the religious courage of the army was animated by the circumstance, that it was the festival of the Church to the memory of St. Peter and

St. Paul. The van was preceded by the Priests and Monks, with crucifixes in their hands, praying aloud for the protection of Heaven, and exclaiming, in the language of the Psalmist, "Be thou a tower of defence to those who put their trust in thee." Every event was turned into a favorable omen; and even the morning dew, scented with the perfume of roses, was supposed to be a special favor from Heaven. The army marched in twelve divisions, in honor of the twelve Apostles: the Bishop of Puy, clothed in armour, and bearing the Lance in his right hand, advanced from the ranks, and exhorted the Champions of the Cross to fight that day as brothers in Christ, as the sons of God. "Heaven," he continued, "has pardoned you for your sins, and no misfortune can happen to you; he who dies here will live hereafter, because he seeks eternal glory. Be brave of heart, for the Lord will send to you legions of Saints. Go, then, against your enemies, who are more prepared for flight than combat; go in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to battle, and the Lord God Almighty will be with you." The army shouted their approbation and assent.

The Christians opposed no stratagem to the manœuvres of the Turks, but the battle was fought man to man, lance to lance. Tancred hung the event in suspense, by rescuing the Prince of Tarentum; but, at last, the Franks contended for safety, not for victory, and the Saracenian cavalry was mowing away their ranks. In this perilous moment some human figures clad in white armour, and riding on white horses, appeared on the summit of the neighbouring hills, and the people distinguished the martyrs St. George, Maurice, and Theodore. The superstitious or politic Adhemar ran through the ranks, exclaiming, "Behold, soldiers, the succour which God has promised you!" the men answered him with the cry, "Deus id vult." Their martial energies revived at this animating shout, and, not waiting for the bright squadron of their celestial allies, they closed their battalions and bore down upon the Saracens, who, terrified at this unexpected vigour, threw away their arms and fled. The booty was so great, that every one of the conquerors became, in a moment, far richer than when he assumed the Cross.

After the defeat of the Turks, the Christians were not so much occupied by the exultation of success, or the enjoyment of the plunder, as to fail in their care of religion. Superstition had saved the cause of fanaticism, and the Priests neglected not their interest or their duty in the moment of victory. The churches were restored to their pristine dignity, and Clergy were appointed for the decorous solemnization of religious rites. Those temples which had been turned into mosques, or by deeper contempt into stables, were cleansed of their pollutions. The public spoil furnished gold and silver, materials for crosses, candelabras, and other ornaments of the church. The Greek Patriarch was reinstated in his honours, and the Latin Clergy professed they would rather serve under him than elect a Superior, and by that means act contrary to the Canons of the Church, and the example of the Saints and Fathers.

The victorious people were clamorous to proceed immediately to Jerusalem, and accomplish their vow; but the chiefs resolved that popular impatience should be restrained till the month of November. The wounded soldiers required restoration to health, the army, repose from its fatigues, before fresh dangers could be encountered; a Syrian summer had already dried most of the springs and fountains round Antioch, and the new deserts which they had to pass, could not be anticipated without dread; three months' tranquillity were, therefore, considered necessary, and the chiefs and their soldiers quartered themselves in the city and its neighbourhood.

These external successes were more than balanced by internal calamities: discord prevailed among the Princes, and they even assisted their people in rapine and theft; public justice did not restrain private injury, and the will of every man was his only law. The heat of the season, the multitude of human carcases, and the general disorder of the army, bred a pestilential disorder, which spread its ravages with such horrible energy, that in a few months it destroyed more than one hundred thousand persons.

Of all the victims of the wide-wasting pestilence, none was

so deeply lamented as Adhemar, of Puy. The people buried their father and protector in the place where the sacred lance had been discovered; the death of the legate was communicated to the Pope; the Chiefs entreated, again and again, their spiritual lord, by whose incitement they had taken the cross, to come and complete the work which they had begun. St. Peter had made Antioch the first city of the Christian name, and it was proper that his successor should sit in his Cathedral, restore primitive virtue, and banish all heresies.

The Christians learnt nothing from experience; their sufferings from famine had been the extreme of misery, and yet they now sat down to the siege of Marra, with no stores of provisions. They were soon reduced to their old resources of dog's flesh and human carcasses; they broke open the tombs of the Mussulmans, ripped up the bellies of the dead for gold, and then dressed and eat the fragments of flesh. The siege must have been raised, had not Bohemond arrived with new succours; the desperate savages mounted the walls in various places, and the city was taken. Their cruelty could not be appeased by a bloodless contest; extermination, not clemency, marked their victory; the night checked, but did not close, their work of blood, for, the next day, they used their swords with such industrious ferocity, that the most obscure places of the city were filled with carcasses. Many of the inhabitants were guilty of self-slaughter, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, but the victims both of savageness and of despair were mangled and eaten by their conquerors. Some wealthy citizens had procured a promise of safety from Bohemond, by tempting his avarice; but when streams of blood flowed through the streets, the perfidious chief commanded his prisoners to be brought before him: they who were vigorous or beautiful, were reserved for the slave market at Antioch, but the aged and infirm were immolated at the altar of cruelty.

From the ruined country round Marra, they proceeded into more fertile lands, and the Turkish Emirs, taught, at length, the impracticability of resistance, sold provisions to, and entered into treaties with, the Christians. The standard of Raymond was hoisted on every town for a considerable dis-

tance, and that act of possession saved the places from the depredations of subsequent bodies of Crusaders.

On the third day after their arrival at Ramula, the soldiers and people took the road to Jerusalem, and soon reached the town, which, in the history of its sacred and its Roman days, had assumed the different names of Emmaus and Nicopolis. The Holy City was then in view; every heart glowed with rapture,—every eye was bathed in tears; the word Jerusalem was repeated, in tumultuous wonder, by a thousand tongues, and those who first beheld the blessed spot, called their friends to witness the glorious sight; all pains were forgotten,—a moment's happiness outweighed years of sorrow. In their warm imaginations the Sepulchre was redeemed, and the cross triumphed over the crescent; but, with that rapidity of thought which distinguishes minds, when strongly agitated by passion, the joy of the stranger, and the fierceness of the warrior, were changed, in a moment, for religious ideas and feelings. Jerusalem was the scene of the resurrection of Christ, and, therefore, the subject of holy rejoicing; but it was the place of His sufferings also; and true devotion, full of self-abasement and gratitude, is as strongly affected by the causes and circumstances, as the consequences, of the great Sacrifice. The soldier became, in an instant, the simple pilgrim; his lance and sword were thrown aside,—he wept over the ground which, he said, his Saviour had wept over, and it was only with naked feet that he could worthily approach the seat of man's redemption.

Of the millions of fanatics who had vowed to rescue the sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, forty thousand only encamped before Jerusalem; and of these remains of the Champions of the Cross, twenty-one thousand five hundred were soldiers, twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred cavalry; the destruction of eight hundred and fifty thousand Europeans had purchased the possession of Nice, Antioch, and Edessa.

Peter the Hermit and Arnold exhorted the Croises to all religious and martial virtues; the soldiers, completely armed, made a holy procession round the walls; the Clergy, with naked feet, and bearing images of the Cross, led them in the sacred way. Cries of "*Deus id vult!*" rent the air: and the

people marched to the melody of hymns and psalms, and not to the sound of drums and trumpets. On Mount Olivet, and Mount Sion, they prayed for the aid of Heaven in the approaching conflict. The Saracens mocked these expressions of religious feeling, by raising and throwing dirt upon crucifixes; but these insults had only the effect of producing louder shouts of sacred joy from the Christians. The next morning every thing was prepared for battle; and there was no one who was not resolved, either to die for Christ, or restore his city to liberty. Religious zeal did not only infuse courage and vigor into the infirm and young, but even the women took up arms. The conflict raged throughout the day; and strong as were the fanaticism and courage of the Christians, yet the triumph lay with the besieged. The great tower of the Count of Tholouse was much injured; hundreds of men were slain; and, on the approach of darkness, the commanders ordered a retreat. The night was spent in watching and alarm, by Christians and Saracens; the walls of the city had many breaches in them, and the camp was weakly defended; but the spring of action was not yet relaxed, and when the morning arose, all was industry and bustle. The means both of hostility and defence were repaired; every Christian seemed fresh and fierce; the towers were manned with choice-drawn cavaliers; some mounted the summits and second stories, others were at the bottom, impelling immense masses; the battering rams were put into motion, and such Croises as were not attached to some of these engines, were stationed at a distance, to cover by their darts and arrows, the attack of their friends. The besieged repaired their mural breaches, got ready their fire, their boiling oil, and all the dreadful stores of war. For several hours, expectation stood in horror for the issue of the raging conflict; about noon, the cause of the Western world seemed to totter on the brink of destruction, and the most courageous thought that Heaven had deserted its people. At the moment when all appeared lost, a Knight was seen on Mount Olivet, rearing his glittering shield, as a sign to the soldiers, that they should rally and return to the charge. Godfrey and Eustace cried to the army, that St. George was

come to their succour. The languishing spirit of enthusiasm was revived, and the Crusaders returned to the battle with pristine animation. Fatigue and disability vanished; the weary and the wounded were no longer distinguishable from the vigorous and active; the Princes, the columns of the army, led the way, and their example awoke in the most timid, gallant and noble daring. Nor were the women to be restrained from mingling in the fight; they were every where to be seen, in these moments of peril and anxiety, supporting and relieving their fainting friends. In the space of an hour the Barbican was broken down, and Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall. At the hour when the Saviour of the world had been crucified, a soldier, named Letoldus of Tournay, leaped upon the fortifications; his brother, Englebert, followed, and Godfrey was the third Christian who stood, as a conqueror, on the ramparts of Jerusalem. The glorious ensign of the Cross streamed from the walls, and, in a short time, all Jerusalem was in possession of the champions of the Cross. The Mussulmans fought for a while, then fled to their temples, and submitted their ranks to slaughter. Such was the carnage in the Mosque of Omar, that the mutilated carcasses were hurried, by the torrents of blood, into the court; dissevered arms and hands floated into the current, that carried them into contact with bodies to which they had not belonged. Ten thousand people were murdered in this sanctuary. It was not only the lacerated and headless trunks which shocked the sight, but the figures of the victors themselves, reeking with the blood of their slaughtered enemies. No place of refuge remained to the vanquished, so indiscriminately did the insatiable fanaticism of the conquerors disregard alike supplication and resistance: some were slain, others were thrown from the tops of the churches and of the citadel. But after having avenged the cause of Heaven, Godfrey did not neglect other religious duties. He threw aside his armour, clothed himself in a linen mantle, and, with bare head and naked feet, went to the Church of the Sepulchre. His piety (unchristian as it may appear to enlightened days,) was the piety of all the

soldiers : they laid down their arms, washed their hands, and put on habiliments of repentance. In the spirit of humility, with contrite hearts, with tears and groans, they walked over all those places which the Saviour had consecrated by his presence. The whole city was influenced by one spirit, and “the clamour of thanksgiving was loud enough to have reached the stars ;” the people vowed to sin no more ; and the sick and poor were liberally relieved by the great, who thought themselves sufficiently rich and happy, in living to see that day. All previous misfortunes were forgotten in the present holy joy ; the ghost of the departed Adhemar came and rejoiced ; and as, at the resurrection of Christ, the bodies of the saints arose, so at the resurrection of the Temple from the impurity of the infidels, the spirits of many of those who had fallen on the road from Europe to Jerusalem, appeared, and shared in the felicity of their friends. Finally, the Hermit, who, four or five years before, had wept over the degraded condition of the Holy City, and who had commiserated the oppressed state of the votaries of Christ in Palestine, was recognized in the person of Peter. It was remembered that he had taken charge of the letters from the Patriarch to the Princes of Europe ; it was acknowledged that he had excited their piety, and inflamed their zeal : and the multitude fell at his feet, in gratitude for his faithful discharge of his trust, praising God, who was glorified in his servant. The massacre of the Saracens, on the capture of the Holy City, did not proceed from the inflamed passions of victorious soldiers, but from remorseless fanaticism. Benevolence to Turks, Jews, Infidels, and Heretics, was no part of the piety of the day : and as the Mussulmans in their consciences believed, that it was the will of Heaven that the religion of Mohammed should be propagated by the sword, so the Christians were under the mental delusion that they were the ministers of God’s wrath on disobedient man. The subjugated people were therefore dragged into the public places, and slain as victims ; women, with children at the breast, girls, and boys, were all slaughtered ; the squares, the streets, and even the uninhabited places of Jerusalem, again were strewn with

the dead bodies of men and women, and the mangled limbs of children. No heart melted into compassion, or expanded into benevolence. The city was washed, and the melancholy task was performed by some Saracenian slaves; the synagogues were set on fire, and the Jews perished in the flames.*

* Religious wars have always been more sanguinary than contests which have sprung from ambition, or national animosities. In the Crusades, intolerance and implacability went hand in hand; and the fancied authority of Heaven for the infliction of punishment, sharpened and embittered the military character, which was already wild and savagely furious. In the wars which scourged and desolated Europe, the spirit of chivalry mitigated the ferocity of the soldier; his heart was accessible to the claims of the injured, the wretched, and the prostrate: but when he fixed the sign of the Cross on his coat of mail, and spurred his war steed in the plains of Palestine, sanctified bitterness mingled with his valour, and all the sympathies and charities of the gentle Knight disappeared. It behoved the champion of the sepulchre to wade through seas of blood; the cries of women, and the helplessness of children, could not mollify the rigour of fanaticism. The humanities of chivalry were denied to the Mussulmans; for chivalry was an institution of Christianity, (of Christianity in a corrupted and degraded state,) and founded, as much for the purpose of the destruction of infidels, as for the security and happiness of the faithful. Both vindictive antipathy and evangelical charity were the duties of knighthood; and he who spared a Mussulman, was as faithless a soldier of Christ, as he who plunged his sword into the heart of a fallen and suppliant Christian.

That some benefits from these disgraceful Crusades resulted to the inhabitants of Europe, is not denied. Something was gained, both in science and freedom; the arts and manufactures of the East were brought into Europe; a more steady administration of justice was introduced; and a spirit of enterprise, which led to the cultivation of commerce, was excited. But whatever temporal advantages may have been derived from these wars, it is a lamentable fact, that they proved exceedingly prejudicial to the cause of religion, and the true interests of the Church. They were the means of greatly augmenting the already enormous influence and authority of the Bishops of Rome, and they contributed, in a variety of ways, to enrich the Churches and Monasteries, and to open new sources of opulence to all the inferior Clergy. As if they had been at the point of death, the devotees of the Cross left a considerable part of their possessions to the Priests and Monks; while others, by their costly donations, hoped to obtain the protection of Jehovah, in the pious undertaking of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow men. Nor were these the only evils which resulted from the Crusades. Multitudes

CHAPTER VIII.

IF we examine the motives that engaged the Roman Pontiffs, and particularly Urban II., to kindle this holy war, which, in its progress and issue, was so detrimental to almost all the countries of Europe, we shall probably be persuaded, that its origin is to be derived from the corrupt notions of religion which prevailed in these barbarous times. It was thought inconsistent with the duty and character of Christians, to suffer that land that was blessed with the ministry, distinguished by the miracles, and consecrated by the blood, of the Saviour of men, to remain under the dominion of his most inveterate enemies. It was also looked upon as a very important branch of true piety, to visit the holy places in Palestine; which pilgrimages, however, were extremely dangerous, while the despotic Saracens were in possession of that country. Urban was, indeed, inferior to Gregory in fortitude and resolution; he was, however, his equal in arrogance and pride, and surpassed him greatly in temerity and impudence. Gregory, notwithstanding his insolence and ambition, had never carried matters so far as to forbid the Bishops and Clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective Sovereigns. This rebellious prohibition was reserved for the audacious arrogance of Urban, who published it as a law in the Council of Clermont. In the same spirit he seduced Conrad, the son of Henry IV., into rebellion against his own father, by persuading him, that it was lawful for subjects to break their oath of allegiance to all such as were excommunicated by the Pope. Two years afterwards, in 1099, both Conrad and the Pope died, the latter being succeeded in the Papal Chair by Paschal II., (another Gregory,) and the former by his younger brother, Henry, as King of Italy.

It is not necessary to draw, at full length, the hideous portrait of Bishops and Abbots having accompanied the expedition into Palestine, the Priests and Monks, now feeling themselves released from all restraint, lived without order or discipline. The list of pretended saints was greatly augmented; and the greatest impositions arose from the importation of an immense quantity of relics, by the adventurers in the Crusade.

trait of the religion of this age. It may be easily imagined, that its features will be full of deformity, when we consider that its guardians were equally destitute of knowledge and virtue ; and that the heads and rulers of the Christian Church, instead of exhibiting models of piety, held forth in their conduct scandalous examples of the most flagitious crimes. The people were sunk in the grossest superstition, and employed all their zeal in the worship of Images and Relics, and in the performance of a trifling round of ceremonies, which were imposed upon them by the tyranny of a despotic Priesthood.

The monastic orders were dishonoured by every enormity of ignorance, licentiousness, fraud, and debauchery ; and the bond which was formed by their dissoluteness and impiety, was perpetually interrupted by a spirit of dissension and jealousy. However astonished we may be at such horrid irregularities among men of a sacred profession, and of an austere character, we shall be still more surprised to learn that this degenerate order, so far from losing aught of their influence and credit on account of their licentiousness, were promoted, on the contrary, to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, and beheld their opulence and authority increasing from day to day. Our surprise, indeed, will be diminished, when we consider the gross ignorance and superstition, and the unbounded licentiousness and corruption of manners, that reigned in this century, among all ranks and orders of men. Ignorance and corruption pervert the taste and judgment of even those who are not void of natural sagacity, and often prevent their being shocked at the greatest inconsistencies. Amidst this general depravation of sentiments and conduct,—amidst the flagitious crimes that were daily perpetrated, not only by the laity, but also by the various orders of the Clergy, both secular and regular, all such as respected the common rules of decency, or preserved, in their external demeanour, the least appearance of piety and virtue, were looked upon as saints of the highest rank, and considered as the peculiar favourites of Heaven. This circumstance was, no doubt, favorable to many of the Monks, who were less profligate than the rest of their order, and might contribute, more or less, to support the credit of the whole body. Besides,

it often happened that Princes, Dukes, Knights, and Generals, whose days had been consumed in debauchery and crimes, and distinguished by nothing but the violence of unbridled lust, cruelty, and avarice, felt, at the approach of old age or death, the inexpressible anguish of a wounded conscience, and the gloomy apprehensions and terrors it excites. In this dreadful condition, what was their resource? What were the means by which they hoped to disarm the uplifted hand of divine justice, and render the Governor of the world propitious? They purchased, at an enormous price, the prayers of the Monks, to screen them from judgment, and devoted to God and to the Saints a large portion of the fruits of their rapine, or entered themselves into the monastic order, and bequeathed their possessions to their new brethren. And thus it was that Monks received perpetually new accessions of opulence and credit.

CHAPTER IX.

WHEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the Clergy, we perceive, in the century before us, the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in Church and State. If we except a very small number who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocations, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts; to multiply their privileges, by grasping perpetually at new honors and distinctions; to increase their opulence; to diminish the authority, and to encroach upon the privileges, of Princes and Magistrates; and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion, and the care of souls, to live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence.

The Roman Pontiffs, who were placed successively at the head of the Church, governed that spiritual and mystical body by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm contest that had already arisen between the Imperial and Sacerdotal powers.

These violent dissensions between the Empire and the Priesthood, (for so the contending parties were styled in that century,) were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces. Paschal II., who had been raised to the Pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm and secure in the Apostolic Chair, without the least apprehension from the Imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new Pope of their party, in the place of Guibert, who died in the year 1100.

Paschal, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the Papal faction, renewed, in a Council assembled at Rome, A. D. 1102, the Decrees of his predecessors against investitures, and the excommunications they had thundered out against Henry IV., and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up, on all sides, new enemies to that unfortunate Emperor. Henry, however, opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent Pontiff, and eluded, with much dexterity and vigilance, his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person, and his cause. Henry V., so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the Empire; after which, the unhappy Prince retired to Leige, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery, in the year 1106.

When Henry sent the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, as deputies to his father, to demand from him his regalia, the old Emperor, aware that the chief accusation against him was the exposing of Bishoprics to sale, addressed the audacious ecclesiastics in the following terms: "If I have prostituted the

benefices of the Church for hire, you, yourselves, are the most proper persons to convict me of that simony. Say, then, I conjure you, in the name of the eternal God, what have I exacted, or what have I received, for having promoted you to the dignities which you now enjoy?" Having acknowledged that he was innocent, so far as regarded themselves, Henry continued, "and yet the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, being two of the best in my gift, I might have filled my coffers by exposing them to sale. I bestowed them, however, upon you, out of free grace and favor, and a worthy return you make to my benevolence; do not, I beseech you, become abettors of those who have lifted up their hands against their Lord and Master, in defiance of faith, gratitude, and allegiance." Finding the unfeeling Prelates deaf to his entreaties, Henry retired, and put on his regal ornaments; then returning, he seated himself on a Chair of State, and addressed them in the words following: "Here are the marks of that royalty with which I was invested by God, and the Princes of the Empire; if you disregard the wrath of heaven, and the eternal reproach of mankind, so much as to lay violent hands on your sovereign, you may strip me of them. I am not in a condition to defend myself." Regardless of these remonstrances, the two Archbishops snatched the crown from his head, and, dragging him from his chair, forcibly pulled off his robes. While thus employed, Henry exclaimed, the tears running down his venerable cheeks: "Great God, thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt repay this outrage! I have sinned, I own, and merited such shame, by the follies of my youth; but thou wilt not fail to punish those traitors for their violence, ingratitude, and perjury."

It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the Pontiff, or the ambitious or impatient thirst after dominion, that engaged Henry V. to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a perfect degree of evidence. One thing, however, is unquestionably certain, and that is, that Paschal II. dissolved the oath of fidelity and obedience that Henry had taken to his father; and not only so, but adopted the cause, and supported the

interests, of this unnatural rebel, with the utmost zeal, assiduity, and fervor. The revolution that this odious rebellion caused in the Empire, was, however, much less favorable to the views of Paschal, than that lordly Pontiff expected.

Instead of obtaining the object of his ambition, by this disgraceful revolution, the unnatural Henry V. no sooner found himself seated on his father's throne, than he decidedly refused to renounce his right of investiture. This immediately renewed the contest; but on the appearance of Henry with a powerful army, at the gates of Rome, in 1110, the Pontiff was forced to enter into a treaty, by which he confirmed to the Emperor the right of investing the Bishops and Abbots, and anathematized all who should oppose the concession. No sooner, however, did Henry leave Rome, than Paschal repented the step he had been compelled to take. Encouraged by the murmurs of the people he at length, in 1112, assembled a Council in the Church of Lateran, where the treaty with Henry was disannulled, and himself threatened with the most grievous punishments, if he presumed still to insist on its conditions being observed. Instead of obeying the decisions of this Council, Henry again marched to Rome, in 1116; but on his approach, Paschal retired to Benevento, and prepared for a vigorous war with the disobedient Emperor. In the midst of his military preparations, however, death put a period to his turbulent Pontificate, in the year 1118.

Nor was the King of England more disposed to a surrender of his rights. On a reference by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope, on the subject of doing homage for the temporalities of his See, the messengers returned with an answer, in which the Pope insisted on his point, and supported it by the strangest distortion of Scripture, "I am the door, by me if any man enter in he shall be saved." "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." "If Kings," said the Pope, "take upon themselves to be the door of the Church, whosoever enter by them, become thieves and robbers, not shepherds. Palaces belong to the Emperor, Churches to the Priest; and it is written, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that

are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' How shameful is it for the mother to be polluted in adultery by her sons ! If, therefore, O King, thou art a son of the Church, as every Catholic Christian is, allow thy mother a lawful marriage, that the Church may be wedded to a legitimate husband, not by man, but by Christ. It is monstrous for a son to beget his father, a man to create his God ; and that Priests are called Gods, as being the Vicars of Christ, is manifest in Scripture." Such arguments were more likely to incense than satisfy a Prince of Henry Beauclerc's understanding. He commanded Anselm either to do homage, or leave the kingdom : but Anselm, with equal firmness, replied, that he would do neither. A second reference to Rome ensued ; two Monks were deputed thither by the Primate, three Bishops by the King. The Pope, on this occasion, acted with consummate duplicity, for which the motive is not apparent. To the Bishops he said, that as their King was in other respects so excellent a Prince, he would consent to his granting investitures ; but he would not send him a written concession, lest it might come to the knowledge of other Princes, and they should thereby be encouraged to despise the Papal authority. By the Monks he sent letters to Anselm, exhorting him to persist in his refusal. Both parties made their report before the great Council of the Realm ; the Prelates solemnly asseverating, that they faithfully repeated what had passed between them and the Pope, the Monks producing their letters. On the one part, it was contended, that oral testimony might not be admitted against written documents ; on the other, that the solemn declaration of three Prelates ought to outweigh the word of two Monks, and a sheet of sheep's skin, with a leaden seal. To this it was replied, that the Gospel itself was contained in skins of parchment. If, however, it was not easy to determine what had been the real decision of the Pontiff, his double dealing was palpable ; and Anselm may have been influenced by a proper feeling of indignation, when he so far conceded to the King, as no longer to refuse communion with those Bishops who had received investiture from his hands. At length, by Henry's desire, Anselm went to Rome, to negotiate there in

person ; and the matter ended in a compromise, that no layman should invest by delivery of the ring and crosier, but that Prelates should perform homage for their temporalities. During these disputes, no Council had been held in England, and therefore a great decay of discipline was complained of. The marriage of the Clergy was what Anselm regarded as the most intolerable of all abuses. This real abuse had grown out of it, that the son succeeded by inheritance to his father's church, a custom which, if it had taken root, would have formed the Clergy into a separate cast. This, therefore, was justly prohibited ; but it was found necessary to dispense with a Canon which forbade the ordination or promotion of the sons of Priests, because it appeared that the best qualified, and the greater part of the Clergy, were in that predicament. Canons, each severer than the last, were now exacted, for the purpose of compelling them to celibacy. Married Priests were required immediately to put away their wives, and never to see or speak to them, except in cases of urgent necessity, and in the presence of witnesses. They who disobeyed were to be excommunicated, their goods forfeited, and their wives reduced to servitude, as slaves to the Bishop of the diocese. The wife of a Priest was to be banished from the parish in which her husband resided, and condemned to slavery, if she ever held any intercourse with him ; and no woman might dwell with a Clergyman, except she were his sister or his aunt, or of an age to which no suspicion could attach. Scripture was perverted with the grossest absurdity, to justify these injurious laws, and prodigies were fabricated, in default of truth and reason, for their support. It was affirmed, that when married Priests were administering the communion, the cup had been torn from their hands by a vehement wind, and the bread portentously snatched away ; and that many of their wives had perished under a divine judgment, by suicide, or by sudden death, and their bodies had been cast out of the grave by the evil spirits, who had possession of their souls.

Cardinal Crema being sent over to England, as a legate to promote this favorite object of the Papacy, it happened, that having in the morning delivered a discourse upon the wicked-

ness of marriage in the Clergy, he was discovered at night in bed with an harlot. This flagrant example was not necessary to prove the unfitness of such Canons. The general feeling was strongly against them; and Henry, instead of enforcing laws so exceptionable, or resisting them as he ought to have done, turned them to his own advantage, by allowing the Clergy to retain their wives, upon payment of a certain tax.

Gregory the Great is said to have been the first Pope who imposed this law upon the Clergy, and when he perceived its injurious effects, he revoked the prohibition. His successors renewed and enforced it, because the consolidation of their own power was with them paramount to all other considerations. The saying of *Æneas Sylvius*, "that if there had been formerly good reasons for prohibiting the marriage of the Clergy, there were now stronger ones for allowing it," is a passage which *Onuphrius* suppressed, in his edition of *Platina's Lives of the Popes*, when that work was mutilated, as so many others have been, to make it suit the policy of the Romish Church. This was one of the opinions which that pious *Æneas* changed upon his elevation to the Papacy. He then saw how expedient it was for the Court of Rome to favour the monastic orders, as its surest supporters; and therefore may have thought it dangerous to offend them upon a point which would certainly have armed them against him. But though he thus learnt to consider the prohibition as politic, his clear perception of its effects upon the character of the Clergy could not have been changed. Their character was such, that Cardinal *Zabarella*, who bore so conspicuous a part in the Council of Florence, said it would be better to repeal the prohibition, than to tolerate its consequences.

When at the Council of Nice, it was proposed, that the married Clergy, should no longer be allowed to cohabit with their wives, the Egyptian Bishop, *Paphnutius*, protested against imposing an obligation which it was certain that all could not observe, and which they could not endeavour to enforce without great injury to religion. Even the persons who made this unwise proposal, yielded to the earnest and unanswerable reasoning of a Prelate, not more eminent for his sufferings in time of

persecution, than for the unimpeached purity of his life ; and the whole Council unanimously determined, that the Clergy should be left at liberty, as they had always been.

Before celibacy was enjoined to the Clergy, but when it was extolled as a virtue in them, and considered as one means for obtaining the respect of a people not yet weaned from the prejudices of their Pagan faith, there were priests who devised a curious mode of exercising and manifesting their gift of continence. They cohabited with women who had taken a vow of perpetual chastity, and received them as their companions, to bed and board, under the most solemn professions that nothing but what was pure and holy passed between them in this intercourse. But although sundry saints obtained their reputation for sanctity by living upon these terms with their wives, the Bishops did not rely upon such professions, and succeeded at length, with the aid of the civil power, after many efforts, in abolishing this impudent practice.

A few days after the death of Paschal, in 1118, John of Gaieta, a Benedictine Monk of Mount Cassin, and Chancellor of the Roman Church, was raised to the Pontificate under the title of Gelasius II. In opposition to this choice, Henry elected to the same dignity Maurice Burdin, Archbishop of Braga in Spain, who assumed the denomination of Gregory VIII. Upon this, Gelasius, not thinking himself safe at Rome, or indeed in Italy, set out for France, and soon after died at Clugni. The Cardinals who accompanied him in his journey, elected to the Papacy, immediately after his decease, Guy, Archbishop of Rome, Count of Burgundy, who was nearly related to the Emperor, and is distinguished in the list of the Roman Pontiffs by the name of Calixtus II. The elevation of this eminent Ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely fortunate. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous Pontiff continued to oppose the Emperor with courage and success. He made himself master of Rome, threw into prison the Pontiff that had been chosen by the Emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in Germany. But his fortitude and resolution were tempered with modera-

tion, and accompanied with a spirit of generosity and compliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his lordly predecessors. Accordingly, he lent an ear to prudent counsels, and was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former Pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity, and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions. Calixtus did not long enjoy the fruits of the peace to which he had so much contributed by his prudence and moderation. He departed this life in the year 1124, and was succeeded by Lambert, Bishop of Ostia, who assumed the title of Honorius II., and under whose Pontificate nothing worthy of record was transacted. His death, which happened in 1130, gave rise to a considerable schism in the Church of Rome.

Gregory, a Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, supported by the Emperor Lotharius, the Kings of England, France, and Spain, and the influence of St. Bernard, was immediately chosen as the successor of Honorius, under the name of Innocent II. By another party in the Sacred College, Peter, the son of Leo, a Roman Prince, under the title of Anacletus II., was raised to the Pontificate; he was supported only by the Kings of Scotland and Sicily. His death, however, in 1138, terminated the contest, and left Innocent, who had retired to France, in the entire and undisputed possession of the Apostolic Chair. He presided, in the year 1139, at the second Council of Lateran, and about four years after, ended his days in peace.

After the death of Innocent, the Roman See was filled by Guy, Cardinal of St. Mark, who ruled the Church about five months under the title of Celestine II. His reign, though short, was peaceable. His successor, Lucius II., whose Pontificate was disturbed by various tumults and seditions, was killed, in about eleven months after his elevation to the Papacy, in a riot which he was endeavouring to suppress by his presence and authority.

Lucius was succeeded by Bernard, a Cistercian Monk, and an eminent disciple of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairval. This

worthy Ecclesiastic, who is distinguished among the Popes as Eugenius III., was elected in 1145, and during the space of nine years was involved in the same perils and perplexities that had embittered the reign of his predecessor.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND CRUSADE.

THE prosperity which attended the Crusaders at the close of the last century, was of short duration. For some time the Mahometan powers harassed the conquerors by incessant invasions and wars, and at length they retook the small kingdom of Edessa, and threatened Jerusalem itself. In this situation the Christians implored the assistance of the European Princes, and requested a fresh army to support their tottering empire in the Holy Land. Eugenius III. employed Bernard to rouse the Christian world to assist their brethren in Palestine. A more suitable character could scarcely have been found, being a person of considerable learning, and what was still more to the purpose, austere in his life, enthusiastically zealous, and inflexible in his purpose. Whilst Bernard was ordered to travel through France and Germany, and preach a plenary indulgence to those who followed the royal example; Eugenius wrote to the faithful sons of the Church, urging them to cross the seas to Palestine. The first Crusaders had provoked the wrath of heaven, by their dissoluteness and folly; but the new soldiers of Christ ought to travel simple in dress, and disdaining the luxury of falcons and dogs of the chase. As Peter had represented the scandal of suffering the sacred places to remain in the hands of the infidels, the eloquent Bernard thundered from the pulpit, the disgrace of allowing a land which had been recovered from

pollution, again to sink into it. He was admitted to the thrones of princes, as well as to the pulpits of their Churches, to public assemblies, and to private meetings. In a Parliament held at Vezelar, in the season of Easter, 1146, Louis was confirmed in his pious resolve; and having, on his knees, received the holy symbol, he joined with Bernard in moving the Barons and Knights, to save the sanctuary of David from the hands of the Philistines. No house could contain the multitude: they assembled in the fields, and Bernard addressed them from a lofty pulpit. As at the Council of Clermont, so on this occasion, shouts of *Deus id vult* rent the skies: the crosses which the man of God had brought with him to the meeting, fell far short of the number of enthusiasts; and he therefore tore his simple monkish garment into small pieces, and affixed them to the shoulders of his kneeling converts. The successful incendiary then crossed the Rhine; and every city and village, from Constance to Carinthia, echoed the call to war. The Dukes of Bohemia and Turin, the Count of Carinthia, the Marquis of Styria and Montserrat, sanctified their military energies. Wherever Bernard moved, the credulous religionists conceived that celestial favor was with him, and they who could not understand his language, were converted by his miracles. But the Emperor Conrad III. made a long and firm denial. As politics prevented the exercise of religious fervor, the preacher endeavoured to impress him with the belief, that were he in arms for the kingdom of God, heaven would protect the kingdom of Europe. Still the Emperor wanted faith; but when the holy orator, in a moment of peculiar energy, drew an animated picture of the proceedings of the day of Judgment, of the punishments which would be inflicted on the idle, and the rewards which would be showered upon the Christians militant, then it was, that conviction flashed across the mind of the royal auditor; and the profession was made, that the Lord of the Germans knew, and would perform his duty to the Church. Encouraged by this example, the barons and people flew to arms. The apostolical eloquence of the successor of the Hermit raised armies and depopulated cities. According to his own expression, "The towns were deserted, or the only people

that were in them, were widows and orphans, whose husbands and fathers were yet living." But, though his zeal was ardent, his humanity was equally alive, and was superior to the age in which he flourished.

On his return to France, he recounted to the King and Barons, assembled at Etampes, all that he had seen and done in Germany. In his absence, the holy design had spread ; and all inferior views, sentiments, and purposes, were drawn into the vortex of one grand project.

Mayence was the rendezvous of the French Crusader, and Ratisbon, of those from Germany. After the people of France had fasted for the benefit of the sacred cause, and their monarch had received the scrip and staff from the hand of the Pope, Louis and his Queen repaired to Mayence.

Their levies were of Priests, of people, and of soldiers ; and of the last class, the number of men, armed with the helmet and coat of mail, was seventy thousand. The civil wars of England had been closed by the weakness of all parties ; but some of the nobility, restless, when not engaged in deeds of blood, joined themselves to the force of Louis. Conrad had an army quite as large and formidable, with a due proportion of light-armed men, and simple pilgrims. The enthusiasm of the Crusade, realized the dreams of romancers, and heroines as well as heroes, had prepared themselves to make war upon the Paynim brethren. A considerable troop of women rode among the Germans ; they were arrayed with the spear and shield.

Their united cavalry was composed of seventy thousand Knights ; and their attendants, and the whole number of cross-bearers, amounted to upwards of three hundred thousand men. As it was impossible to procure necessaries for so great a number in the countries through which they were to pass, each army pursued a different road. But before their arrival in the Holy Land, famine had so dreadfully thinned the ranks of the army, and so many horses and other beasts of burthen had perished, that the most sage and prudent among the Crusaders advised their companions to turn aside from scenes of desolation, and proceed by sea to Antioch. Yet, when the King offered to share with his Barons, all

the vicissitudes of plenty and poverty, and incited them to follow in the route of the conquerors of Jerusalem, the brave Peers of France were touched by honorable pride, and it was agreed, that the simple pilgrims, women and children alone, should make the proposed passage. The city of Attalia was saved by the Governor, who averted the vengeance of the French, by offering them ships. When however, after five weeks had passed, and the vessels arrived, it was found that there was not sufficient for the purpose, and the order of things was changed. The King and his soldiers embarked for Antioch; the way-worn pilgrims and the sick were committed to the charge of Thierry, Count of Flanders, who was to march with them to Cilicia, and the King distributed among them all the money which his necessities could spare. But when Louis quitted the harbour, the Turks fell upon the Christians who were left behind, and the escort was found to be feeble and ineffective. The people of Attalia not only declined to open their gates, but even murdered the sick. Every day the Turks killed hundreds of the pilgrims, and as it was evident that flight alone could save the remainder, Thierry escaped by sea. Seven thousand wretched votaries of the cross, attempted to surmount the higher difficulties of the land journey to Jerusalem; but the holy city never opened to their view; and, in perishing under Moslem vengeance, they thought that the loss of the completion of the pilgrimage, was compensated by the glories of martyrdom.

Conrad soon returned to Europe, with the shattered relics of the German host, and his steps were, a year afterwards, traced by the French King, the Queen, and most of the French Lords.

Of the Clergy, at this period, St. Bernard has drawn a most faithful, but a most lamentable picture. He was struck with the new costume of gilded bridles, saddles, and spurs, assumed by the dignitaries of the Church; their heels he remarked to be more brilliant than their altars; their tables were splendid alike with rich goblets and dainty dishes; nor were less remarkable for the gluttony and inebriety of the consecrated visitors. The harp, the lyre, and the pipe, made their banquets more

joyous; their wine-presses were overflowing, their larders crowded. Chests filled with money, and cellars with the richest produce of the vineyard, made more delicious to their tastes by sweets and spices, were their preferred objects. They took more care to empty the pockets of their subjects than to extirpate their vices. For these things, men sought to become Deans, Archdeacons, Bishops, and Archbishops; and the moral mischief was increased in its worst form, by boys from school being advanced into Prelates, from the influence of their families. "The Church," he tells Pope Eugenius, "is full of the ambitious; no den of robbers is more so with the plunder of travellers; if you be a disciple of Christ, exert your authority against this impudence and general pestilence. Does not ambition more than devotion tread the threshold of the Vatican? Does not your palace resound all day long with its voices? How long will you pretend not to hear the murmur of the whole earth? How long will you be asleep? But you yourself go about a gold-covered pastor. Was St. Peter so? He never went out in jewels and silks, he was not spread over with gold, nor seated on a white horse, nor attended by a military troop, nor surrounded by shouting servants. In these things you have not been the successor of Peter the Apostle, but of the imperial Constantine."

"Who at the outset," says he, "when the order of Monks began, would ever have imagined that Monks would have become so wicked as they have? Oh! how unlike are we to those in the days of Anthony! Did Macarius live in such a manner? Did Basil teach so? Did Anthony ordain so? Did the Fathers in Egypt carry themselves so? How is the light of the world become darkness! How is the salt of the earth become unsavory!" "I am a liar," he adds, "if I have not seen an Abbot having above sixty horses in his train! When ye saw them riding, ye might say, 'These are not fathers of monasteries, but lords of castles; not shepherds of souls, but princes of provinces!' O vanity of vanities! the walls of churches are glorious, while the poor are starving." Bernard died in the year 1153, leaving one hundred and sixty monasteries of his order.

Another, and far more vehement opponent of the Court of Rome, was Arnold of Brescia, concerning whom a modern writer gives the following interesting account:—"Arnold, at an early period of his life, travelled into France, and became the disciple of Abelard. Having imbibed some of the heretical sentiments, and a portion of that freedom of thought which distinguished his master, he returned to Italy, and, in the habit of a Monk, began to propagate his opinions in the streets of Brescia. The zeal of this daring reformer was at first directed against the wealth and luxury of the Romish Clergy. Insisting that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, he maintained that the temporal power of the Church was an unprincipled corruption of the rights of secular Princes, and that all the corruptions that disgraced the Christian faith, and all the animosities which distracted the Church, sprang from the power and overgrown possessions of the Clergy. These bold truths were propagated, not as mere points of speculation, or as an explanation of the various calamities which then affected the Church; they were held as the foundation of a system of reform, which the people were excited to carry into execution; and the Clergy were called upon to renounce their usurped possessions, and to live frugally on the voluntary contributions of the people. The inhabitants of Brescia were roused by the eloquent appeals of their countryman; they revered him as the apostle of religious liberty, and rose in rebellion against their lawful Bishop. The Church took alarm at these dangerous commotions, and, in a General Council of the Lateran, held in 1139, by Innocent II., Arnold was condemned to perpetual silence. He sought for refuge beyond the Alps, and found an hospitable shelter in the canton of Zurich. Here he again began his career of reform, and had the ability to seduce from their allegiance the Bishop of Constance, and even the Pope's Legate. The exhortations of Bernard, however, reclaimed these yielding ecclesiastics to a sense of their duty, and Arnold was driven, by persecution, to hazard the desperate expedient of fixing the standard of rebellion in the very heart of Rome.

Protected, perhaps, if not invited, by the Nobles, Arnold

harangued the populace with his usual fervor, and inspired them with such a regard for their civil and ecclesiastical rights, that a complete revolution was effected in the city. Innocent struggled in vain against this invasion of his power, and at last sunk under the pressure of calamity. His successors, Celestine and Lucius, who reigned only a few months, were unable to check the popular frenzy. The leaders of the insurrection waited upon Lucius, demanded the restitution of the civil rights which had been usurped from the people, and insisted that his Holiness and the Clergy should trust only to pious offerings of the faithful. Lucius survived this demand but a few days, and was succeeded by Eugenius III., who, dreading the mutinous spirit of the inhabitants, withdrew from Rome, and was consecrated in a neighbouring fortress. As soon as Arnold was acquainted with the escape of the Pontiff, he entered Rome, and animated with new vigor the licentious fury of the populace. He called to their remembrance the achievements of their forefathers; he painted, in the strongest colours, the sufferings which sprung from ecclesiastical tyranny; and he charged them as men, and as Romans, never to admit the Pontiffs within their walls, till they had prescribed the limits of his spiritual jurisdiction, and fixed the civil government in their own hands. Headed by the disaffected Nobles, the frenzied populace attacked the Cardinals and Clergy, who still continued in the city; they set fire to the palaces, and forced the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the new system of things.

The Roman Pontiff could no longer view with patience the excesses of this ungovernable mob. At the head of his troops, chiefly composed of Tiburtines, he marched against the city, and, after some trifling concessions on his part, was reinstated on the Papal Throne. Notwithstanding the triumph over the malecontents, the friends of Arnold were still numerous, and continued to disturb the peace of the city, till Adrian IV. was raised to the Chair of St. Peter. On the first appearance of a riot, during which a Cardinal was either killed or wounded in the street, Adrian held an interdict over the guilty city, and from Christmas to Easter deprived it of the privilege of re-

ligious worship. This bold and sagacious contrivance gave a sudden turn to the minds of the people: Arnold and his followers were banished from the city, and fled for protection to the Viscounts of Campania. His Holiness, however, was not satisfied with restoring peace to his capital; a spirit of revenge burned within him, till he instigated Frederic Barbarossa to force Arnold from his asylum in Campania. This intrepid reformer was immediately seized by Cardinal Gerard, in 1155, and was burned alive, in the midst of a fickle people, who gazed, with stupid indifference, on the expiring hero, who had fallen in defence of their dearest rights, and whom they had formerly regarded with more than mortal veneration. His ashes were thrown into the Tiber; but though no corporeal relic could be preserved to animate his followers, the efforts which he made in the cause of civil and religious freedom, were cherished in the breasts of future patriots, and inspired those mighty attempts which have chained down, and finally destroyed, the monster of superstition.

It is impossible not to admire the genius and persevering intrepidity of Arnold. To distinguish truth from error in an age of darkness, and to detect the causes of spiritual corruption in the thickest atmosphere of ignorance and superstition, evinced a mind of more than ordinary stretch. To adopt a plan for recovering the lost glory of his country, and fixing the limits of spiritual usurpation, demanded a degree of resolution, which no opposition could control. But to struggle against superstition entrenched in power, to plant the standard of rebellion in the very heart of her empire, and to keep possession of her Capital for a number of years, would scarcely have been expected, from an individual, who had no power, but his own eloquence, and no assistance, but what he derived from the justice of his cause; yet such were the individual exertions of Arnold; which posterity will appreciate, as one of the noblest legacies which former ages has bequeathed.

The conduct and tyranny of the Clergy and Papal Court, had, at this time, provoked the inhabitants of Rome to restore the Roman Senate to its former privileges, and to its ancient splendor and glory; and to exclude the Pontiff from all civil

jurisdiction over the city of Rome. Against this confederacy, Eugenius opposed himself, till exhausted by the opposition he met with, in supporting what he looked upon as the prerogatives of the Papacy, he departed this life in the year 1153.

The Pontificate of Conrad, Bishop of Sabino, the successor of Eugenius, who, after his elevation to the See of Rome, assumed the title of Anastatius IV., was less disturbed by civil commotions, but it was also of a very short duration; he, however, continued to oppose Arnold, whose friends were still numerous, and confirmed in their hostility to the Papal adherents.

It may here be not uninteresting to remark, that however corrupt the Church of Rome had become, there was, at this very time, a large portion of true piety and religion to be found, even in the very territories of the dominant Church. It may interest the reader, to bring these Confessors of the Faith of Jesus Christ under his notice as briefly as possible.

At the beginning of this century, a number of sincere and humble Christians appeared in the South of France, Savoy, and Milan, and in Cologne, Flanders, and Lombardy, whose doctrines, in many particulars, resembled those of Claudius, of Turin. Among other names which they received from their adversaries, was that of Cathari, or Puritans; they were accused of holding the most absurd and heretical opinions; and many of them were put to death, in the cruelest form, by the adherents of the Popish faith. The heresies of the Cathari are detailed in a letter, written by Enervinus, of Stainfield, to the famous St. Bernard, in 1140, from which we make the following extracts, with the view of showing that, even their enemies being judges, these despised and persecuted people were the faithful witnesses for Christ, in an apostate age.

“There have been lately some heretics discovered among us near Cologne, some of whom have, with satisfaction, returned to the Church. One of their Bishops, and his companions, openly opposed us, in the assembly of the Clergy and the laity, in the presence of the Archbishop of Cologne, and of many of the nobility, defending their heresies by the words of Christ

and his Apostles. Finding that they made no impression, they desired that a day might be appointed for them, on which they might bring their teachers to a conference, promising to return to the Church, provided they found their masters unable to answer the arguments of their opponents; but that otherwise, they would rather die, than depart from their judgment. On this declaration, having been admonished for three days to repent, they were seized by the people, in their excess of zeal, and burnt to death! and, what is very amazing, they came to the stake, and bore the pain, not only with patience, but even with joy.

“They put no confidence in the intercession of Saints; and all things observed in the Church, which have not been established by Christ himself, or his Apostles, they call superstitions. They do not admit of any purgatory, after death; but affirm, that as soon as the souls depart out of the bodies, they enter into rest or punishment; proving their assertion from that passage of Solomon, ‘Which way the tree falls, whether to the south or north, there it lies.’ Whence they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased. Those of them who have returned to our Church, told us, that great numbers of their persuasion were scattered almost every where, and that among them were many of our Clergy and Monks.”

Notwithstanding the piety and charity of Bernard, that zealous Monk, immediately on the receipt of this letter, attacked the Cathari, with all that bitterness for which he was so famous. Yet, with a strange inconsistency, he acknowledges, “If you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more Christian; if you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless; and what they speak, they prove by deeds.” Egbert, too, a Monk, after owning that they maintained their sentiments by the authority of Scripture, adds, “They are increased to great multitudes throughout all countries, to the great danger of the Church.” Thus furnishing us with no slight evidence, that there existed in many places of the world, at this period, a number of faithful men, who refused to be partakers of the sins of mystical Babylon.

But as all “they who will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution,” so the Cathari were exposed, during the whole of the twelfth century, to the most cruel sufferings, which they endured with a fortitude that astonished, though it did not soften, their unnatural persecutors. In 1159, a company of these despised people, consisting of about thirty men and women, having appeared in England, they were immediately apprehended, and brought before a Council of the Clergy, held at Oxford. Refusing to abandon their opinions, respecting Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, the Invocation of Saints, &c., they were condemned, as being incorrigible, and delivered over to the secular power to be punished. Urged on by the Clergy, the King, Henry II., commanded them to be branded on the forehead with a red hot iron, to be whipped through the streets of Oxford, and then turned out into the open fields, no person being allowed to afford them any shelter or relief. The consequence of this cruel sentence, which was executed in its utmost rigor, was, that they all perished of cold and hunger.

The Cathari were not, however, the only class of Christians which opposed the corruptions of the Romish Church. About the year 1110, Peter de Bruys appeared in the south of France, making the most laudable efforts to reform the abuses, and remove the superstitions, which disfigured the simplicity of the Gospel worship. After labouring twenty years in the University, he was apprehended, in 1130, at St. Giles’s, a city of Languedoc, and condemned to the flames. His followers were called Petrobusians; and though their sentiments were not wholly free from error, yet they appear to have justly merited the character of reformers.

Another reformer, of the name of Henry, appeared in the twelfth century, who was the founder of a sect called the Henricians; but in 1158 he was committed to prison by Pope Eugenius III., where he soon afterwards ended his days.

But among the many opponents of the errors of Popery, who now appeared in the Christian world, none were more distinguished for the purity of their faith, the holiness of their lives, and the number of their adherents, than the Waldenses; of

whom we shall soon have occasion more particularly to speak.

The warm contest between the Emperors and the Popes, which was considered at an end ever since the time of Calixtus II., was unhappily renewed under the Pontificate of Adrian IV., a native of England, whose original name was Nicholas Breakspear, and who succeeded to the Papal Chair in 1154. Frederic I., surnamed Barbarossa, was no sooner seated on the Imperial throne, than he publicly declared his resolution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly to render it respectable in Italy; nor was he at all studious to conceal the design he had formed, of reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the Pontiffs and Clergy, within narrower limits. Adrian, perceiving the danger that threatened the majesty of the Church, and the authority of the Clergy, prepared himself for defending both with vigor and constancy. The first occasion of trying their strength was offered at the coronation of the Emperor, at Rome, in 1155, when the Pontiff insisted on Frederic performing the office of equerry, and holding the stirrup to his Holiness. This humbling proposal was, at first, rejected with disdain by the Emperor, who now prepared to reduce the little republics of Italy under his dominion. An open rupture between the Emperor and the Pontiff was expected, as the inevitable consequence of such measures, when the death of Adrian, which happened on the first of September, 1159, suspended the storm.

Roland, Bishop of Sienne, who assumed the name of Alexander III., was now elected to the Papacy, while another party of the Cardinals elected to that high dignity Octavian, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, known by the title of Victor IV. The latter was supported by the Emperor, to whom Alexander was extremely obnoxious on several accounts; and, by the Council of Pavia, which was assembled by command of the Emperor, in 1160, and became, in consequence, triumphant in Germany and Italy; so that France alone was left open to Alexander, who, accordingly, left Rome, and fled thither for safety and protection. Amidst the tumults and commotions which this

schism occasioned, Victor dying at Lucca, in the year 1164, Guy, Cardinal of St. Calixtus, was elected Pontiff, under the auspices of the Emperor, by the title of Paschal III. In the mean time Alexander recovered his spirits, and, returning into Italy, maintained his cause with uncommon resolution and vigor, and not without some promising hopes of success. He held at Rome, in the year 1167, the Lateran Council, in which he solemnly deposed the Emperor, whom he had, upon several occasions before this period, publicly loaded with anathemas and execrations, dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful Sovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel against his authority, and to shake off his yoke. But soon after this audacious proceeding, Frederic made himself master of Rome; upon which the insolent Pontiff fled to Benevento, and left the Apostolic Chair to Paschal, his competitor. The affairs of Alexander soon after took a more prosperous turn, and the Emperor, after having, during the space of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was, at length, so fatigued with the hardships he had suffered, and so dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace, at Venice, with Alexander, and a truce with the rest of his enemies.

It was not only by force of arms, but also by uninterrupted efforts of dexterity and artifice, by wise counsels, and prudent laws, that Alexander III. maintained the pretended rights of the Church, and extended the authority of the Roman Pontiffs. For, in the third Council of the Lateran, held at Rome, A.D. 1179, the following Decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority:—1st. That in order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions which so often accompanied the election of the Roman Pontiffs, the right of election should not only be invested in the Cardinals alone, but also that the person, in whose favour two-thirds of the college of Cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected Pontiff. This law is still in force; it was, therefore, from the time of Alexander, that the election of the Pope acquired that form which it still

retains, and by which not only the people, but also the Roman Clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in the honor of conferring that important dignity. 2dly. A spiritual war was declared against heretics, whose numbers increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the Church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in France, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of their opinions. 3dly. The right of recommending and nominating to the saintly order was also taken away from Councils and Bishops, and canonization was ranked among the greater and more important causes, the cognizance of which belonged to the Pontiff alone. The Canons of this Council were of a harmless nature, except that which was issued against the Albigensian and Waldensian Christians; for such all were denominated who were enemies to the Roman Pontiff. After enumerating the titles by which these heretics were called, the twenty-seventh canon subjects to a "curse both themselves, their protectors, or harborers, and all persons who admit them into their houses, or lands." "That their houses and goods should be confiscated, and themselves reduced to slavery by their Princes." "Further, we take off two years' penance from such of the faithful as shall, by the counsel of their Bishops, take up arms against them, for the purpose of subduing them."

To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the Pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII., was not only assumed, but also exercised by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of King, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I., Duke of Portugal, who, under the Pontificate of Lucius II., had rendered his province tributary to the Roman See.

It is to be observed, that the right of election should not only be vested in the Cardinals alone, but also that the person, in whose favour the Cardinals vote, should be chosen from the college of Cardinals. This law is ascribed to the lawgiver and duly elected Pontiff. It was, therefore, from the time of Alexander, that the election of the Pope required that form which it still

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE WALDENSES.

THE Decree against heretics, issued by the Lateran Council, was evidently aimed, under a general designation, to affect the interests more particularly of the Waldensian Churches; of which Claudius, of Turin, has been styled the founder, though some historians have traced their origin to a period still more remote. Of these Christians, the following account may not be uninteresting:—Leger begins his history of the Churches of the Vaudois, by a declaration that they never required any reformation. For the first four or five centuries, the whole of what is termed the north of Italy, of which the Waldenses formed a part, remained comparatively pure. Though not altogether free from error and superstition in succeeding ages, yet, being a pastoral, simple, and unambitious people, whose situation kept them at a distance from the controversies and customs of those degenerate ages, they remained comparatively little infected by the abounding evils in the Church. The most ancient historian of the persecutions to which they were subjected, affirms, that “Toulouse had been scarcely ever exempt, even from its first foundation, from that pest of heresy which the fathers transmitted to their children;” and that “their opinions had been transmitted in Gaul, from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity.” A noble testimony to the antiquity of these evangelical Churches, which, from the first planting of religion in Gaul, had, as far as their opportunities would allow, resisted the usurpations and corruptions of the Church of Rome. Alexander III., in a Synod held at Tours, in 1167, declared, that the doctrine of the Vaudois was a damnable heresy of long continuance. And their adversary, Reiner, an Italian inquisitor of the middle of the thirteenth century, whose business it was to report the opinions of the heretics of Lyons, gives the following singular testimony:—“The heresy of the Vaudois, or poor people of Lyons, is of great antiquity. Among

all the sects that either are, or have been, there is none more dangerous to the Church, and that for three reasons: 1. Because it is the sect of the longest standing of any; for some say that it hath been continued down ever since the time of Pope Sylvester, (in the fourth century :) and others, ever since that of the Apostles. 2. Because it is the most general of all sects; for scarcely is there a country to be found where this sect hath not spread itself. And, 3. Because it has the greatest appearance of piety; for, in the sight of all, these men are just and honest in their transactions, believe of God what ought to be believed, receive all the articles of the Apostles' Creed, and only profess to hate the Church of Rome."

Though these eminent witnesses for the truth are now termed generally Waldenses and Albigenses, yet they were formerly known by a variety of names,—some derived from their teachers, some from their manner of life, some from the places where they resided, some from the fate they suffered, and some from the malice of their enemies. The valleys of Piedmont, situated between Mount Viso and the Col de Sestrieres, first gave them the name of Vallenses, Waldenses, or Vaudois, a name which has since been employed to distinguish them as a primitive Church. Those in the south of France were termed Albigenses, or poor men of Lyons, from their residence in or about Albi and Lyons.

These heretics, as they were called by their enemies, were accused of holding the most detestable opinions; and many of them were put to death in the most cruel form, by the supporters of the Romish hierarchy. That the reader may perceive, however, what these opinions were, the following account of them is given by Evervinus, of Stainfield, in Germany, one of their avowed adversaries, who cannot be supposed to speak any thing in their favor.

"There have been lately some heretics discovered among us near Cologne," says Evervinus, in a letter to Bernard, Abbot of Clairval, dated about the year 1140, "though several of them have, with satisfaction, returned to the Church again.

"Their heresy is this; they say that the Church is only

among themselves, because they alone, of all men, follow the steps of Christ, and imitate the Apostles, not seeking secular gains. 'We,' they say, 'the poor of Christ, who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, do endure persecution with the Apostles and Martyrs, though our lives are strict, laborious, devout, and holy, and though we seek only what is necessary for the support of the body, and live as men who are not of the world. But the apostolical dignity is corrupted, by engaging itself in secular affairs, while it sits in the chair of Peter.' They do not hold the baptism of infants to be a duty, alleging that passage of the Gospel, 'Whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved.' They put no confidence in the intercession of Saints; and all things observed in the Church, which have not been established by Christ himself, or his Apostles, they call superstitions. They do not admit of any purgatory after death, but affirm, that as soon as the soul departs out of the bodies, they enter into rest or punishment, proving their assertion from that passage of Solomon's, 'Which way soever the tree falls, whether to the south or north, there it lies;' whence they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased.

This letter roused the indignation of Bernard against the Cathari, and he lost no time in endeavouring to expose their "heresies and hypocrisy," to the world. After throwing out innumerable invectives and false statements against a people, of whose manners he acknowledges he knew but little, with a strange inconsistency he adds: "If you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more Christian; if you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless; and what they speak they prove by deeds. You may see a man, for the testimony of his faith, frequent the church, honour the elders, offer his gift, make his confession, receive the sacrament; what more like a Christian? As to life and manners, he circumvents no man. He fasts much, and eats not the bread of idleness, but works with his hands for his support. The whole body, indeed, are rustic and illiterate, and all whom I have known of this set are very ignorant."

Egbert, too, a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of Schonauge, tells us, that he had often disputed with these heretics, and that they maintained their sentiments, by the authority of Scriptures. "They are armed," says he, "with all those passages in Holy Scripture, which in any degree seem to favor their sentiments."

"Concerning the souls of the dead, they hold this opinion, that the very instant of their departure out of the body, they go to eternal bliss or endless misery; for they do not admit the belief of the Universal Church, that there are some purgatory punishments, with which the souls of some of the elect are tried for a time, on account of those sins from which they have not been purified, by a plenary satisfaction in this life. On which account, they think it superfluous and vain, to give alms for the dead, and to celebrate masses; and they scoff at our ringing of bells, which nevertheless, for pious reasons, are used in our churches, to give others warning that they may pray for the dead, and to put them in mind of their own death. As for masses, they altogether despise them, regarding them as of no value; for they maintain that the sacerdotal order has entirely ceased in the church of Rome, and all other Catholic churches, and that true Priests are only to be found in their sect."

About the year 1160, Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, attached himself to the Waldenses, at a period, happily, when the Papal Hierarchy began to put its threats in execution, against all who questioned its infallibility. The extensive mercantile engagements of this great and good man, gave ample opportunities of conversation with strangers, on the idolatries of the Romish Church; and his influence and riches enabled him with more boldness to take a decided part in opposing its usurped authority. Having clearly seen, from a careful perusal of the Scriptures, the only way of salvation, through faith in the righteousness of Christ, he was exceedingly desirous of communicating the same knowledge of divine truths to others. For this purpose he abandoned his mercantile pursuits, distributed his wealth among the poor; and, while they flocked to him to partake of his alms, he laboured to impress upon their minds the paramount importance of eternal concerns. But the

ardent desire of Waldo to instruct the ignorant did not stop here. The Vulgate Latin Bible was the only edition of the Scriptures at that time in Europe, and very few of the people being capable of reading it, this zealous reformer was led, either to translate it himself, or procure it to be translated, into the vulgar tongue; thus having the honor of being the first who gave the word of God to the people in any modern language of Europe. He also maintained, at his own expense, several persons who were employed to recite and expound his translation to the people.

Being thus provided with copies of the Scriptures in their own language, the opponents of the Romish Hierarchy were encouraged to declare themselves with greater boldness, and enabled to prove that the doctrines of their adversaries were in direct opposition to the divine word. The consequence of all this may be easily imagined. So long as Waldo and his friends confined themselves to mere declamations against the errors of the Papal See, the thunders of Rome were suspended. But as soon as they employed that invincible engine, the Scriptures, in the vulgar tongue, they were immediately anathematized and excommunicated. The Archbishop of Lyons had already, in 1172, peremptorily forbidden the new reformer "to teach any more, on pain of excommunication, and of being proceeded against as an heretic;" and Waldo having replied, "that, though a layman, he could not be silent in a matter which concerned the salvation of his fellow creatures," Pope Alexander III. anathematized him and his adherents, and commanded the Archbishop to proceed against him with the utmost rigor. Waldo was therefore compelled to leave Lyons, and so fierce was the rage of the Romish adherents against him, that he had to become a wanderer for the rest of his life.

Being driven from thence, also, he proceeded to Germany, carrying with him the glad tidings of salvation; and at length he settled in Bohemia, where he died, after having been engaged for nearly twenty years, in publicly instructing the people. His doctrines, which were evidently those of the Bible, spread extensively in Alsace, along the Rhine, and in many other places; and appear to have so harmonized with

those of the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, that, not without reason, they and his followers were henceforward considered the same.

In regard to the character of the ancient Waldenses, their bitterest persecutors were forced to bear testimony to the uprightness, integrity, and purity of life, of these witnesses for the truth. "These heretics," says an inquisitor, who wrote against them, "are known by their manners and conversation, for they are orderly and modest in their behaviour and deportment; they avoid all appearance of pride in their dress; they neither indulge in finery of attire, nor are they remarkable for being ragged or mean. They get their livelihood by manual industry, as day labourers, or mechanics, and their teachers are weavers or tailors. They are not anxious about amassing riches, but content themselves with the necessities of life. They are chaste, temperate, and sober, and abstain from anger. Even when they work, they either learn or teach. In like manner, also, their women are very modest, avoiding backbiting, foolish jesting, and levity of speech, especially abstaining from lies and swearing."

Thuanus, the Historian, a Roman Catholic, thus describes the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissiniere in Dauphiny:—

"Poor as they are, they are content, and live separate from the rest of mankind. One thing is very remarkable, that persons externally so savage and rude, should have so much moral cultivation. They can read and write. They know French sufficient for the understanding of the Bible, and the singing of Psalms. You can scarcely find a boy who cannot give an intelligent account of the faith they profess. In this, indeed, they resemble their brethren of the other valleys. They pay tribute with a good conscience, and the obligation of this duty is peculiarly noted in the confessions of their faith. If by reason of the civil wars, they are prevented from doing this, they carefully set apart the sum, and the first opportunity, pay it to the King's tax gatherers."

Two Ecclesiastics, deputed by Francis I. to visit the Waldenses of Provence, returned with the following account of the heretics, as they were termed, to that Monarch.—"They

are a laborious race of people, who, about two hundred years ago, emigrated from Piedmont, to dwell in Provence. Betaking themselves to husbandry and feeding of cattle, they have restored many villages destroyed by the war, and rendered other desert and uncultivated places extremely fertile by their industry. By the information given us in the said country of Provence, we find them to be a very peaceable people, beloved by their neighbours, men of good behaviour, of godly conversation, faithful to their promises, and punctual in paying their debts. They are a charitable people, not permitting any among them to fall into want. They are, moreover, liberal to strangers, and the travelling poor, as far as their ability extends. And the inhabitants of Provence affirm, that they are a people who cannot endure to blaspheme, or name the devil, or swear at all, unless in making some solemn contracts, or in judgments. Finally, they are well known by this, that if they happen to be cast into any company where the conversation is loose or blasphemous, to the dishonor of God, they instantly withdraw."

Among the most striking instances of the piety and virtue of the Waldenses of the present time, says Mr. Ackland, "is the absence of drunkenness, swearing, sensual profligacy, and that inordinate love of gain, to the sacrifice of all honor and honesty, too frequently met with in the neighbouring population. They are also distinguished by a more respectful demeanour to their superiors, more attention to cleanliness, and less to gaudy show, more industry, and, singularly enough, more loyalty to their Sovereign."

And says Mr. Jackson, "I have no hesitation in saying, that I think the Vaudois, even in their present circumstances, the most moral people in Europe. During my residence in the valleys of Piedmont, I never saw an instance of drunkenness, nor was offended by hearing a single oath of swearing or blasphemy."

"Much as I was prejudiced in favor of this extraordinary race," says Mr. Gilly, "before I became personally acquainted with their character, that acquaintance has increased my admiration of them. If innocence and pure religion can be said

to reign any where, it is here; and all my inquiries and researches have had the effect of bringing the firm conviction to my mind, that they are one of those favored people whom the arm of the Almighty has providentially shielded, for purposes best known to his inscrutable wisdom. Their morals correspond with their faith; and their lives and conversations testify, that the doctrines they profess are those of the truth; for nothing short of a firm persuasion that they are burning and shining lights, which are not to be put out, could have given them courage and perseverance sufficient to withstand the temptations to which their spiritual integrity has been exposed, or to resist the strong hand which has been lifted up against them for more than ten centuries."

CHAPTER XII.

It was during this Pontificate that the claims of the Roman Priesthood of exemption from temporal jurisdiction, became, in the person of Thomas a Becket, matter of serious dispute between the King of England and Alexander; the latter refusing to ratify the constitutions of Clarendon,—by which it was enacted "that no appeals in spiritual causes should be carried before the Holy See," and "that Churchmen, accused of any crime, should be tried in the civil courts." Although the Papal sanction was refused, still much was gained, by even the agitation of the question, and by the proof which they afforded of the independence of the English Church, and its superiority over all Papal decrees and spiritual canons. Rapin says, that above a hundred murders had been committed by Ecclesiastics, not one of whom was so much as punished with degradation; hence the necessity of the King's determination. As Becket's

history will throw much light on that of these times, we offer the following outline. The Chancellor, Thomas a Becket, was the most confidential, as well as the ablest, of the King's servants, and the most intimate of his friends; a man who had hitherto resembled Wolsey in the favor which he enjoyed, and in the boundless magnificence of his life; but his character was compounded of stronger elements, and his mind of a higher class. Hitherto he had been soldier, courtier, statesman, any thing rather than Churchman; the boon companion of the King, his confidential counsellor, and the faithful minister of his will: but from the hour of his consecration as Archbishop, he devoted himself to the cause of the Church, the sense of duty being perfectly in accord with his own ambitious disposition. To all outward appearance, the change in his life which ensued, was not less total and immediate than that which the grace of God effects in a repentant sinner; but the inner man remained unchanged. The costliest splendor was still displayed in his apparel; beneath his canonical dress he wore the Benedictine habit; under that, sackcloth well stocked with vermin; (for vermin were among the accompaniments of monastic severity;) and within were the daring spirit, the fiery temper, and the haughty heart. Every part of his conduct now indicated the aspiring saint: his food was of the coarsest kind; bitter herbs were boiled in water, to render his drink nauseous: he flogged himself; he washed the feet of the poor; he visited the sick, and the large sum which his predecessor had annually disbursed in alms, was doubled by his munificent charity. His determination to oppose the King was intimated by his sending back the seals of office, and desiring that he would provide himself with another Chancellor, for he could hardly suffice, he said, to the duties of one office, far less of two. Upon this the King called upon him to surrender also the Archdeaconry of his own see, an office much more incompatible with his new dignity than the Chancellorship; it was the richest benefice in England, under a bishopric, and Becket withheld his resignation till it was forced from him. Undeceived, when too late, in the character of his former minister and friend, Henry, in pursuing his plans

of salutary reform, had to encounter opposition where he had reckoned upon assistance. Plain reason, however, and evident justice, and public opinion, were on his side, and he had a strong case to begin with. A Priest had debauched the daughter of a respectable man, and then murdered the father, that he might not be disturbed in his guilty intercourse with her. The King demanded that this atrocious criminal should be brought before a civil tribunal, and suffer condign punishment upon conviction; but Becket placed the culprit under custody of his Diocesan, that he might not be delivered to the King's justice. Upon this, Henry summoned the Bishops to attend him. He complained to them of the corruption of their courts, and of the practice of commuting all punishments for money, whereby, he said, they levied more money in a year from his people, than he did. He observed, that a clerical offender, instead of being screened from punishment by his sacred character, ought to be more severely punished, because he had abused that character. And he required that, in future, ecclesiastical persons accused of heinous crimes should be delivered into the hands of the Bishop, and if by him found guilty, be degraded, and then transferred to the civil power for punishment. The Prelates would have assented to this considerate and equitable proposal, but Becket conferred with them apart, and, in deference to him, they returned for answer, that no Clergyman ought to suffer death, or loss of limb, for any crime whatsoever; nor to be judged in a secular court. The only concession they made was, to admit that a Clergyman who had been degraded, became amenable to the common law for any offence committed *after* his degradation. Henry had inherited the irritable temper of the Norman Kings. Provoked at such a reply, Henry, at last, left the hall in anger. When they were no longer awed by Becket's presence, nor under the control of his commanding spirit, the Prelates felt the justice of the King's pretensions, and perceiving that he was bent upon effecting what he had undertaken, they represented to the Primate the propriety of making some concession. His answer was, that if an angel were to descend from heaven, and advise him to make the acknowledgment which the King

required, he would anathematize the angel. Ambassadors from the King, having proceeded to Sens, where Alexander III. at that time resided, Rome being in possession of the antipope, solicited that his Holiness would appoint Legates to judge the Archbishop in England. But the Papal Court was not now to learn that the boldest policy is the best. Legates, Alexander said, they should have; but when it was asked of him that they might have powers for deciding the cause without appeal, "That," he replied, "is my glory, which I will not give to another; and certainly, when the Archbishop is judged, it shall be by ourselves. It is not reasonable that we should remand him to England, there to be judged by his enemies." The bent of his mind was so apparent in all this, that the Earl of Arundel, who was the headpiece of the embassy, hinted to him, such conduct might perhaps provoke the King to seek for better treatment from his competitor; and the ambassadors left Sens without asking his blessing.

The conduct of the Pope irritated Henry, and he gave orders for stopping the payment of that annual contribution, known by the name of Peter's pence. Had Wicliffe then been living, or had there been among the English Bishops, another man endowed with the same talents and intrepidity as Becket, it is more than likely, that the Church of England would then have separated from that of Rome, and that a reformation would have commenced, not less honorable in its origin, than beneficial in its consequences. But Henry had no counsellor equal to the crisis.

He sequestered the Primate's estates, ordered the Bishops to suspend the revenues of every Clergyman who followed him to France, or took part in his behalf, declared all correspondence with him criminal, and forbade his name to be mentioned in the public prayers. But acting under the impulse of passion, he went beyond the bounds of policy and justice in his resentment, banishing, by one sweeping sentence, all the kinsmen, friends, and dependants, of Becket, to the number of nearly four hundred persons, without exception of sex or age; their goods were confiscated, and they were compelled to take an oath, that they would repair to Becket, wherever he might be,

the King's intention being to distress him by the sight of their sufferings, and burden him with their support. Becket, in return, anathematized his enemies ; and on an appointed day a great concourse of people assembled at the Church, where Becket preached ; in what strain we know not, in what temper is but too plain. At the end, an awful pause ensued, the bell tolled, the crosses were inverted, and the assistant priests, twelve in number, stood round him, holding torches, which were presently, with dreadful execrations, to be extinguished. In the forms of malediction appointed for this blasphemous service, a curse was pronounced against the obnoxious persons, in soul and body, and in all their limbs, and joints, and members, every part being specified with a bitterness which seemed to delight in dwelling on the sufferings that it imprecated. They were cursed, with pleonastic specification, at home and abroad, in their goings out and their comings in, in towns and in castles, in fields and in meadows, in streets and in public ways, by land and by water, sleeping and waking, standing and sitting and lying, eating and drinking, in their food and in their excrement, speaking or holding their peace, by day and by night, and every hour, in all places and at all times, every where and always. The heavens were adjured to be as brass to them, and the earth as iron ; the one to reject their bodies, and the other their souls. God was invoked, in this accursed service, to afflict them with hunger and thirst, with poverty and want, with cold and with fever, with scabs and ulcers, and itch, with blindness and madness, . . . to eject them from their homes, and consume their substance, . . . to make their wives, widows, and their children, orphans and beggars ; all things belonging to them were cursed, the dog which guarded them, and the cock which wakened them. None was to compassionate their sufferings, nor to relieve or visit them in sickness. Prayers and benedictions, instead of availing them, were to operate as further curses. Finally, their dead bodies were to be cast aside for dogs and wolves, and their souls to be eternally tormented with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, Judas and Pilate, Ananias and Sapphira, Nero, and Decius, and Herod, and Julian, and Simon Magus, in fire everlasting.

Henry, in his despair of ever being suffered to rest by this ungrateful and treacherous friend, (for as such he regarded him,) and in his indignation at this fresh instance of unprovoked hostility, called himself unfortunate, in having maintained so many cowardly and thankless men, none of whom would revenge him of the injuries he had sustained from one turbulent Priest; . . . words which expressed, with culpable indiscretion, a wish for Becket's death, and were too hastily understood as conveying an order for it. It is certain that no such order was intended; but it is not surprising that men who were zealous in his service, and no way scrupulous how they served him, should have imagined, that what the King wished, he would gladly have them perform. Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Richard Brito, and Hugh de Moreville, who were all gentlemen of his bedchamber, Knights and Barons of the realm, bound themselves by an oath, that they would either compel the Primate to withdraw the censures, or carry him out of the kingdom, or put him to death, if he refused to do the one, and they found it impossible to effect the other; with this determination they hastened, unknown to the King or any other person, to the Primate, whom they murdered.

When the news reached Henry, he was at once struck with remorse for the cause of the crime, and alarmed for its consequences. Whilst Becket himself was already regarded as a Saint and Martyr; and upon this point, Henry's understanding was subdued by the spirit of the age.*

* John of Salisbury, who lived at the time, with a great reputation of learning and integrity, and wrote Becket's life, whose friend and disciple he was, speaking of the place and manner of his burial, says, "Where, to the glory of God, many and great miracles are now wrought by him, the people flocking thither in crowds, that they may see in others, and feel also in themselves, the power and mercy of him, who is ever wonderful and glorious in his saints. For in the place, on which he suffered, and where his body likewise was deposited that night, before the great altar, and also where he was at last buried; 'the paralytic are healed, the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lame walk, the devils are cast out, all who are sick of fevers, or other diseases, are cured; and what was never heard of in the days of our fathers, the dead are raised.'

Upon the death of Alexander, Ubald, Bishop of Ostia, was raised to the Pontificate, A. D. 1181, under the name of

Which prediction, as they declare, was literally fulfilled by *St. Thomas*. “Whose blood being collected with care immediately after his death, not only cured all distempers, but raised even great numbers of the dead to life; and when the quantity was found insufficient, for the demand that was made of it, they were forced to supply it with water, the least drop of which, when tinged with the martyr’s blood, and administered to the sick, or infused into the mouths of the dead, had all the same effects; so that it was sent abroad into all parts of the Christian world, as an infallible cure for all kinds of diseases.” (*See Vit. S. Thomæ Epistolis prefix. vol. i. 142.*)

Pope Alexander III., in a letter to the Church of *Canterbury*, upon the subject of *Thomas’s canonization*, about four years after his death, says,—“The whole body of the faithful must necessarily rejoice to hear of the wonderful works of the holy and reverend man, *Thomas*, your late Archbishop; but you must needs be filled with a more exalted joy, who behold his miracles with your own eyes, and whose church has the peculiar honor of possessing his most sacred remains. We, on our part, having considered the glory of his merits, by which his life was made so illustrious, and having received full and certain information of his miracles, not only from common fame, but from the testimony of our beloved sons, *Albertus* and *Theoduinus*, Cardinal Priests, and Apostolic Legates, and of a great number of other persons, have solemnly canonized the aforesaid Archbishop, &c. (*Ib. p. 170.*)

“In the Jesuit College of *St. Omer*, the Father who showed us the house,” says *Dr. Middleton*, “happening to produce some *relic* or memorial of *St. Thomas*, which he treated with much reverence, one of our company asked me, what *Thomas* he meant? upon which I unwarily said, ‘it is *Thomas Becket*, who is worshipped as a great Saint on this side of the water:’ ‘Yes, sir,’ replied the *Jesuit*, with a severe look, ‘if there is any faith in history, he deserves to be esteemed a great Saint.’ But I may venture to affirm in *England*, what I did not care to dispute in a college of *Jesuits*, that this celebrated *Thomas* had more of the rebel than of the Saint in him; was a Prelate of a most daring, turbulent, seditious spirit, inflexibly obstinate, in satiabably ambitious, intolerably insolent, whose violence the Pope himself endeavoured, in vain, to moderate; as it appears from such monuments as the Papists themselves must allow to be authentic, a collection of *Becket’s own letters*, preserved still in the *Vatican*, and printed some years ago in *Brussels*. From these letters, I say, it appears, that not only the King, and the whole body of Barons, but even the *Bishops*, *Abbots*, and Clergy, openly condemned his behaviour as highly rash and criminal; they charged him with being the sole

Lucius III., by the suffrages of the Cardinals alone. The administration of this new Pontiff was embittered by violent

disturber of the peace of the kingdom ; that while he was making all that stir about the liberties of the Church, he himself was the chief infringer of them ; that he was not ashamed to publish the most notorious lies, in favor of his own cause ; that he refused to restore to the King, forty thousand marks, which had been committed to him in trust ; that he was guilty of the most detestable ingratitude to the King, whom he treated worse than a heathen or publican, though he had been raised by him from the lowest condition, to the highest favor, and entrusted by him with the command of all his dominions, and made his Chancellor, and Archbishop of Canterbury, contrary to the advice of his mother, the Empress, and the remonstrances of the nobility, and to the great grief and mortification of the whole Clergy ; all which *the Bishops and Clergy of the Realm* expressly affirm in their common letters, not only to the Pope, but to *Becket himself* ; accusing him, likewise, of “ traitorous practices, and of using all endeavours to excite the King of *France*, and the Court of *Flanders*, to enter into a war against his King and country.” When he was cited by the King to answer for his maladministration before the Bishops and Barons of the realm, he absolutely refused to appear, declaring himself responsible to none but God ; and that, as much as the soul was superior to the body, so much were all people obliged to obey him, rather than the King, in all things relating to God and his Church ; who had established Bishops to be the judges and fathers of Kings themselves ; and as neither law nor reason allowed children to judge their parents, so he renounced the judgment of the King and the Barons, and all other persons whatsoever, and acknowledged no judge but God, and his sovereign Vicar on earth, the Pope. Yet this man is now adored as one of the principal Saints and Martyrs of the *Romish Church* ; whose character, I have chosen to insist upon the more particularly, as it will teach us, by an illustrious example, from our own history, what kind of merit it is, that has exalted so many others in the same Church, to the same honors.”

About fifty years after Becket's death, it was the subject of a public dispute at the University of Paris, whether Becket was in heaven or hell, so ambiguous a point was his sanctity. Some asserted, that for his extreme pride, he deserved to be damned ; others, on the contrary, maintained, that the miracles wrought at his tomb were undoubted proofs of his salvation. This last argument, indeed, would have been unanswerable, if these miracles were as evidently proved, as industriously spread.

“ He had deserved too well in the Court of Rome, not to have a place in the Catalogue of the Saints. . . . He was therefore canonized two

tumults and seditions; for he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear a Pope, elected in opposition to the ancient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the Clergy and the people. In the midst of these troubles, he died at Verona, in 1185.

Lucius published, in 1181, a severe edict against the unoffending Waldensian Christians, from which the following is an extract:—"We declare," says he, "all Catharists, Pate-

or three years after his death. However desirous the Pope was to show his gratitude to the memory of so faithful a servant, the world must first be convinced, that the cause he died in, was approved by God: otherwise his canonization might have been objected against. Nothing was more proper to infuse this belief into the minds of the people, than miracles. Accordingly, such multitudes were forthwith wrought at the tomb of the new martyr, that, in any other age, the number of these miracles, instead of satisfying the world, would have had a quite contrary effect. Neither Christ, nor his Apostles, worked the like, or so many, to prove the truth of Christianity, as this new Saint did, to authorize the privilege and immunities of the Clergy. It was not thought sufficient to assert his restoring dead men to life; but it was farther affirmed, he raised the very *beasts*! It was given out for certain, that, being exposed to view in the church before he was buried, he rose out of his coffin, and went and lighted the wax-candles, which had been put out. It is said also, after the funeral ceremony was over, he held up his hand to bless the people. To all these miracles many others are added, equally becoming the majesty of God. Meanwhile, they were spread with that confidence, that not a man was found hardy enough to show the least sign of doubt. The Pope's Legates, sent some time after to examine these matters, found the people at Canterbury so persuaded of the truth of all these facts, that, upon such public evidence, his holiness thought he should run no great hazard in canonizing Becket, by the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The tomb of the new Saint was first adorned with few ornaments, but fifty years after his death, his body was laid in a shrine, enriched with a prodigious quantity of precious stones. As a farther honor to his memory, the Pope ordered, every fiftieth year, a jubilee to be solemnized, in the church where he lay. From thenceforward, miracles became so common at his tomb, and their fame spread so far, that they drew votaries from all parts of Christendom, who came to Canterbury, to obtain the intercession of this new Saint. In 1420, they kept an account of above fifty thousand foreigners, of all ages and sexes, that came in pilgrimage that year to this renowned tomb." (*Rapin's History of England*, vol. 1, pp. 232, 233, folio edition.)

rines, and those who call themselves ‘the poor of Lyons,’ the Passigner Josephites, Arnoldists, to be under a perpetual anathema. And because some, under the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, as the Apostle saith, assumed to themselves the authority of preaching, whereas the same Apostle saith, ‘How shall they preach, unless they be sent?’ we, therefore, conclude under the same sentence of a perpetual anathema, all those who either being forbid, or not sent, do, notwithstanding, presume to preach, publicly or privately, without any authority received either from the Apostolic See, or from the Bishops of their respective dioceses; as also, all those who are not afraid to hold, or teach any opinions concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, Baptism, the Remission of Sins, Matrimony, or any other sacraments of the Church, differing from what the holy Church of Rome doth preach and observe. And, generally, all those whom the same Church, or the several Bishops in their dioceses, with the advice of their Clergy, or the Clergy themselves, in case of a vacancy of the See, shall judge to be heretics. And we likewise declare all entertainers and defenders of the said heretics, and those who have showed any favor, or given any countenance to them, thereby strengthening them in their heresy, whether they be called ‘comforted, believers, or perfect,’ or with whatsoever superstitious name they disguise themselves, to be liable to the same sentence. And whosoever shall be notoriously convicted of these errors, if a Clergyman, or one that endeavours to conceal himself under any religious order, he shall be immediately deprived of all prerogative of the Church orders, and so, being divested of all office and benefice, be delivered to the secular power, to be punished according to demerit, unless, immediately upon his being detected, he voluntarily return to the truth of the Catholic faith, and publicly abjure his errors, at the discretion of the Bishop of the diocese, and make suitable satisfaction. And as for a layman, who shall be found guilty, either publicly or privately, of any of the aforesaid crimes, unless by abjuring his heresy, and making satisfaction, he immediately return to the orthodox faith, we decree him to be left to the

sentence of the secular judge, to receive condign punishment, according to the quality of the offence."

This, and other rigorous Decrees, which were issued against the Waldenses and Albigenses, obliged many of them, in the south of France, to take refuge in other kingdoms. The valleys of Piedmont, Bohemia, and even Spain, furnished, for some time, asylums to these persecuted people. Numerous congregations of them were also formed in Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and in Italy, Germany, and Britain; and in every kingdom of Europe to which they emigrated, they were the means, under Divine Providence, of leading multitudes to a saving acquaintance with the pure doctrines of the Gospel of Christ.

In 1185, the Cardinals elected Ubert Crivelli, Archbishop of Milan, to the vacant See, who assumed the name of Urban III.; he died of grief, within two years, upon hearing that Saladin had made himself master of Jerusalem.

In 1187, Gregory VIII. occupied the Papal Chair but two months, exhibiting a striking instance of the uncertainty and instability of human power and grandeur. He attempted, like his predecessor, to awaken the enthusiasm of Europe against the Mahometan power: but his premature death suspended all immediate efforts. Gregory was succeeded by Paul, Bishop of Preneste, as Clement III.; who, immediately on his election, ordered a Crusade to be preached throughout all the countries of Christendom.

Europe at this time rang with invectives against the holy Bernard, when the thousands of men, whom his eloquence and miracles had roused to arms, perished in the rocks of Cilicia. A general, or a statesman, would have pointed out errors in the policy or conduct of the Crusaders; but the Preacher sheltered himself under the usual defence of impostors, and declared that the sins of the people had merited divine punishment, and that the men of his day resembled, in morals, the Hebrews of old, who perished in the journey from Egypt to the promised land.

The disastrous issues of the second Crusade were fresh in the minds of the people of Europe; the cypress was, generally,

they thought, twined with the laurel in Palestine, and public opinion no longer fixed a mark of cowardice and pusillanimity on those who did not hasten to the sacred banners. In the third Council of the Lateran, which met twenty years after the return to Europe of Louis and Conrad, the policy of Almeric was applauded: Egypt was more dreaded than Syria; and the possession of Damietta was held out as the object to which all the efforts of the Christians should tend. The Clergy called on the world to arm: but the recollection of misery was too fresh, and the Decrees of the Council were heard of with sullenness and discontent. Louis, however, always cherished the hope of returning to the Holy Land, and of reviving his faded glory; and, at length, he found his wishes met by a brother Sovereign. Since virtue was his policy, as well as his duty, Henry II., in the height of his disputes with Thomas à Becket, had professed great sanctity, and following the example of the French King, he and his Barons commanded that for one year a tax of two pence, and for four subsequent years, a tax of a penny in the pound, should be levied on the moveables of the people of England. Among the deeds of virtue which washed from Henry the guilt of Becket's murder, was the supporting of two hundred Knights Templars in Palestine, for a year, and an agreement with the Pope, to go and fight the infidels in Asia, or in Spain, for thrice that time, if his Holiness should require it. In the year 1177, Henry and Louis agreed to travel together to the Holy Land; but the English Monarch was prudent, and fond of peace, and the illness and subsequent death of the French King terminated the project.

While fanaticism was rekindling the torch of religious war, news arrived in the west, of the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the infidels. The event was felt as a calamity, from one end of Europe to the other; and the judgments of God brought grief and consternation to the breast of every man. Nothing could exceed the terror which seized the Court of Rome. In the moment of weakness and humiliation, the Cardinals acknowledged the dignity and the force of virtue. They resolved to take no bribes in the administration of justice, to abstain from all luxury of living, and splendor of dress, to go

to Jerusalem, with the scrip and staff of simple pilgrims, and never to ride on horseback, while the ground of their Saviour was trodden under the feet of the Pagans. Pope Urban III. died about this period; and his death, like every direful event of the time, was attributed to grief at the intelligence of the Saracenian victories. William, Archbishop of Tyre, our great guide in history, was one of the messengers of the news; and his friend, Gregory VIII., successor of Urban, not only endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of heaven, by ordaining fasting and prayer throughout Christendom, but issued a Bull for a new Crusade, with the usual privileges to the Croises. Gregory went to Pisa, and healed the animosities between that city and Genoa, knowing well the importance of the commercial states of Italy to the Christians in the holy wars. He who once had conducted three kings to Bethlehem, had mercifully prepared a road, by which even the most flagrant sinners might reach happiness.

“March, then, to the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre! Arms, honour, and chivalry,—all that the world calls grand and moving, will procure for you heavenly glory and happiness. What more can Kings and Barons desire, than, by such noble and pleasing means, to save themselves from the poisonous waters, and raging flames of hell?”

The Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, now summoned a Council at Mayence, for the purpose of considering the general propriety of a new Crusade. Prelates and Barons were unanimous in the wish for it, and William, of Tyre, and Henry, Bishop of Albano, Legates of the Papacy, arrived at the assembly in time to confirm and approve its holy resolve.

At the solicitation of the Archbishop of Tyre, Philip Augustus, King of France, and Henry II., King of England, met at a place between Trie and Gisors, in Normandy, in order to deliberate on the political state of the times. The Prelate of the Eastern Latin Church appeared, and pleaded the cause of religion before the two Monarchs. So pathetic was his description of the miseries of the Latins in Syria,—so touching were his reflections on those who engaged in petty national wars, when even the stones of the Temple called on all the

people to avenge the cause of God, that Philip and Henry wept, embraced, and vowed to go together to the Holy Land. They received the cross from the hands of the Archbishop.

The heroic Frederic was among the first of those whose grief rose into indignation after the fall of Jerusalem. In his letters to the sacrilegious Saladin, he demanded restitution of the city, and threatened him, in the event of non-compliance, to pour into Asia all the military force of the German States. But the triumphant infidel replied, that he would oppose his Tuscomans, his Bedouins, and Syrians, to the German hordes.

Germany was indignant at this haughty reply; all the powers took up arms against the man who had defied them; but, in prudent remembrance of the disorders and calamities which popular impatience had occasioned in the first and second Crusades, an imperial edict was issued, that no one should go who could not furnish his own viaticum for a twelve-month. The consecrated standards of the German Princes were surrounded by innumerable hosts of Crusaders, drawn out of every class of life, from honorable knighthood down to the meanest vassalage.

In 1189, Frederick Barbarossa marched into Asia Minor, at the head of an army consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand military adventurers. Having defeated the Turks in several battles, he penetrated into Syria, and so great was the terror of his name, that the Christians in Syria and Palestine flattered themselves that, from his assistance, they would obtain speedy and effectual relief; but these hopes were suddenly blasted. This mighty Potentate lost his life by accident, in the river Cydnus, in consequence of which, a spirit of dejection seized upon his troops; the greater part of whom shortly afterwards perished by a pestilential distemper, which broke out in the camp, and the few that escaped were compelled to return to their own country.

Philip Augustus, King of France, and Richard I., King of England, had entered with considerable ardor into the third Crusade. These two Monarchs, at the head of an immense army, arrived in Palestine in the year 1191. In their first

encounters they proved every where victorious ; but upon the reduction of Ptolemais, which had been defended by the Infidels with the most obstinate valor, the French Monarch returned to Europe, leaving, however, a considerable portion of his army with Richard, to prosecute the war. The zeal of the English Monarch carried him forward in the prosecution of his romantic expedition till he arrived within sight of Jerusalem, when, being deserted by the French and Italians, and observing among his own subjects a general desire to return to Europe, he concluded, in 1192, a truce with Saladin, which was to remain in force three years, three months, three days, and three hours ; a magical number suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

Among the numerous evils which were produced, or at least encouraged, by these fanatical wars, was the publication of *indulgences*. This disgraceful traffic had been previously carried on by the inferior dignitaries of the Church, who, though for money they remitted the temporal penalties imposed on transgressors, yet had never dared to abolish the punishments which await the wicked in another world : this impiety was reserved to the Pope himself, who dared to usurp the authority which belongs to God alone. The corruption having once taken place, remained, and even increased, from age to age, till the Reformation. It is needless to say how subversive of all piety this practice must have been. The whole discipline of the Church was dissolved, and men who had means to purchase a licence to sin, were emboldened to let loose the reins of vice, and follow at large their own devices and imaginations. In order to give some degree of plausibility to this impious traffic, a monstrous doctrine was invented, which, in the following century, was modified and embellished by *Saint Thomas*. The chief purport of this new doctrine, which was intended to establish what are called "*works of supererogation*," was as follows : " that there actually existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds and virtuous actions which the Saints had performed *beyond* what was necessary for their own salvation, and which was therefore applicable to the benefit of others ; that the Guardian and Dispenser of this

treasure was the Pope, and that, of consequence, he was empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper, a portion of this inexhaustible store of *merit*, suitable to their respective *guilt*, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes!!” Thus, while the infinite merits of the Redeemer were thrown aside, as being either defective or superfluous, the human race were at the same time free from the necessity of perfect holiness.

In 1191, Celestine III. was called to the vacant Chair, being then eighty-five years of age. He commenced his Pontificate by thundering out his excommunications against the Emperor, Henry VI., and Leopold, Duke of Austria, who had seized and imprisoned Richard I., King of England, as he was returning from the Holy Land. During this Pontificate the Duke of Suabia, son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, instituted a new military order, the members of which were to be guided, in the performance of their charitable duties, by the canons of the Knights of St. John; and by the practice of the Templars, in what regarded military discipline. Celestine confirmed its institution, appointing the service of the poor and sick, and the defence of the holy places, as the great objects of their regard; and their domestic economy was to be preserved by chastity, and equal participation of property.

This daring and ambitious Pope, Celestine III., had again sounded the trumpet of war; he exhorted the Archbishops and Bishops of the Christian Church to persuade their congregations to spread the crimson standard, and to march against the persecutors of the faith of Jesus Christ. Plenary indulgence was offered to those faithful soldiers, and the protection of the Church to their families and possessions. France had not revived from its losses in the third Crusade, and Philip Augustus heard the appeal with indifference. Many of the people of England enrolled their names as holy warriors, obtained spiritual absolution, and then abandoned their pious resolves. The Pope hurled his thunders against those who deserted their professions, except for some legitimate cause; but all thoughts of a Crusade gradually died away in England, for the King was too much occupied in political concerns to encourage it.

Seconded by imperial influence, the Clergy successfully preached the Crusade through all the German states. The Emperor declared that he would provide a passage for both rich and poor who wished to go.

From the north to the south of Germany, the frenzy of crusading had spread. Both Clergy and laymen burnt with divine zeal, and received the sign of the sufferings of Christ, in token of the remission of their sins. The son of Henry Duke of Linberg, and the Archbishop of Mayence, led the vanguard of the holy warriors, and, in the passage through Hungary, they were joined by Margareta, sister of the French King, and Queen of Hungary, who, as one mode of consolation for the loss of her husband, had vowed to pass the remainder of her life in the pains of pilgrimage.

It seemed that the hour was now at hand when Europe would receive the reward of her invincible heroism. All the sea coast of Palestine was already in the possession of the Christians; and even they who had generally most desponded, were now elevated with the conviction that the Cross must, ere long, surmount the walls of Jerusalem; but in their march from Tyre, towards the holy city, they made a fatal halt at the fortress of Thoron. The lofty and solid pile of stones withstood the attacks of the common engines of violence; but, by a month's labor of some Saxon miners, the rock itself which supported the fortress was pierced through, and the battlements tottered to their foundation. The Saracens were now at the feet of the Christians, suing for mercy. After much time had been passed in balancing considerations of revenge or mercy, a treaty, founded on these terms, was signed; but although just principles of war prevailed with the majority, yet the smaller party, who breathed nothing but slaughter, impressed their menaces so deeply on the minds of the Saracens, that the latter vowed to submit to the last extremity, rather than confide in the agreements and oaths of the Champions of the Cross. They gained resolution from despair; they met their foes in the passages which had been mined in the rocks, and in every encounter the Moslem scimeter reeked with Christian blood; factious contentions disordered the Latin Council; insubor-

dination and vice raged in the camp; and, to crown their miseries, the Croises heard that the infidel world had recovered from its defeat at Sidon, and that the Sultans of Egypt and Syria were concentrating their levies. Daunted at the rumour of their march, the German Princes deserted their posts in the middle of the night, and fled to Tyre. In the morning their flight was discovered by the soldiers, and horror and despair filled every breast; the camp was deserted by those who had strength to move; the feeble left their property, the cowardly their arms, behind them. The road to Tyre was filled with soldiers and baggage, in indiscriminate confusion; but so exhausted was the state of the Mussulmans in Thoron, that the Christians were not molested in their retreat by any accidents, except those which their own imprudence and precipitation occasioned.

In reviewing the state of the Church during this century, and considering the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it, by a profane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men with its pure and sublime doctrines, it will appear surprising that the religion of Jesus was not totally extinguished. Relics, which were for the most part fictitious, or at least uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people than the merits of Christ, and were supposed, by many, to be more effectual than prayers offered to Heaven, through the mediation of that Divine Redeemer. The opulent, whose circumstances enabled them to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were looked upon as the happiest of all mortals, and were considered as the most intimate friends of the Most High; while they whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the services that beasts of burden are usually employed in, such as carrying stones, and drawing waggons, and expected to obtain eternal salvation by these voluntary and painful efforts of misguided zeal. This universal reign of ignorance and superstition was dexterously,

yet basely, improved by the rulers of the Church, to fill their coffers, and to drain the purses of the deluded multitude. And, indeed, all the various ranks and orders of the Clergy had each their peculiar method of fleecing the people. The Bishops, when they wanted money for their private pleasures, or for the exigencies of the Church, granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money which was to be applied to certain religious purposes; or, in other words, they published Indulgences, which became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal orders. When the Roman Pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the Church were accumulating by the sale of Indulgences, they thought proper to limit the power of the Bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the Court of Rome became the general magazine of Indulgences; and the Pontiffs, when either the wants of the Church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published not only a universal, but also a complete, or what they called, a plenary remission of all the temporal pains and penalties, which the Church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther, and not only remitted the penalties which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step this which the Bishops, with all their avarice and presumption, had never once ventured to take.

The most illustrious and resolute Pontiff, that filled the Papal chair, during the thirteenth century, and whose exploits made the greatest noise in Europe, was Lotharius, Count of Segni, Cardinal Deacon, otherwise known by the name of Innocent III. This Pontiff, who was placed at the head of the Church in the year 1198, followed the steps of Gregory VII., and not only usurped the despotic government of the Church, but

also claimed the empire of the world, and thought of nothing less than subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to his lordly sceptre. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance, clouded the lustre of any good qualities which his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to him. In Asia and Europe, he disposed of crowns and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians; in Europe, he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon Primislaus, Duke of Bohemia. The same year he sent to Johannicius, Duke of Bulgaria and Walachia, an extraordinary Legate, who, in the name of the Pontiff, invested that Prince with the ensigns and honors of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the Church, and saluted him publicly at Rome, with the title of King. We omit many other examples of this frenetic pretension to universal Empire, which might be produced from the letters of this arrogant Pontiff, and many other acts of despotism, which Europe beheld with astonishment; but also, to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive obedience. The ambition of this Pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty of the Roman See formidable to the greatest European Monarchs, and even to the Emperors themselves. When the Empire of Germany was disputed, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, between Philip, Duke of Suabia, and Otho IV., third son of Henry the Lion, he espoused at first the cause of Otho, thundered out his excommunications against Philip, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, placed the Imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was by no means disposed to submit to this Pontiff's nod, or to satisfy to the full his ambitious desires, he incurred, of consequence, his lordly indignation; and Innocent, declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the Empire, raised in his place Frederic II., his pupil, the son of Henry VI., and King of the

two Sicilies, to the Imperial throne, in the year 1212. If a Prince attempted to withdraw from his authority received from heaven, the Pontiff anathematized him, expelled him out of the communion of the faithful, and his deluded subjects avoided him like a pestilence. In general, he went and solicited the pardon of the irritated Vice-God, appeased him by the most abject submissions, and by the acknowledgment of all the rights which the arrogant Pontiff demanded; after which the repentant Sovereign was re-established in his charges and his honors; and at each similar attempt, the power of the Popes, sanctioned and increased, became still more strengthened.

CHAPTER XIII.

WE must now turn aside from the consideration of acts of despotism and tyranny, to the consideration of those of the deepest superstition and romantic enthusiasm. Indeed, the annals of human infatuation cannot present a more extraordinary fact, than that which is the subject of our present observations, cannot supply a more powerful illustration of the effects of fanaticism, or so strikingly develop the most prominent characteristics of "holy wars." In other expeditions of this nature, it is true, there might be the same passion for novelty, the same love of libertinism, considerably more of the restlessness of chivalry, and the hope of conquest and glory. But never did religious fanaticism operate so powerfully, as when it divested childhood of its fears, and urged it into the perilous pursuits of men. Never did delusion work so strongly upon the timid, or imagination so transform the nature of the weak, never, in short, did humanity betray derangement so pliable, or

results so diffusively calamitous, and yet, singular as it may appear, our English histories of this time pass it without a comment.

The utter madness of Crusade, which in 1212, according to the majority of historians, assembled a vast concourse of children, chiefly ten and twelve years old, can only be duly estimated by taking into consideration the martial frenzy, and the artful policy, of the Clergy; men who too often made religion the stalking-horse of their ambition, and the pander of their lust for power. One remarkable source of this their incessant assiduity, will be found in the superior information of some, and in the bigoted zeal of others; and that of the majority.

 The infant, imbibing with its mother-milk the germ of superstition and zealotry, taught by its other reckless parent to lisp only in the accents of an impure and bloody chivalry, must have breathed its earliest words in execration of the "land of Heathenesse," and devoted its earliest prayers to the overthrow of "Paynim bonds;" what wonder if cruelty and hate, and all the worst passions, well derived from such abhorrent sources, sank deep into the heart of the youthful aspirant, and filled his untutored brain with romance and madness.

There was, however, another cause more potent than that of Chivalry, or even than that of superstition, which induced the misguided parent to supply so wild a stimulus to infantile ardor. The countries of the East, in that age, were looked upon as the only origin of unlimited wealth: "The vulgar, both small and great," as Gibbon well observes, "were taught to believe every wonder; of lands flowing with milk and honey, of mines, and treasures of gold and diamonds, of palaces of marble and jasper, and of odoriferous groves of cinnamon and frankincense." Here the poverty-stricken lost their indigence, and the wealthy started into more abundant wealth: here was Aladdin's lamp, and the diamond valleys of Sindbad: here, and here only, piety could be united with worldly interest, and the Cross of Christ decorated with gold and precious stones. Whether the worship of God at the Sepulchre of his blessed Son, originally drew the crowds who visited that country, is

somewhat problematical; but certainly, the feeling soon became absorbed in the love of mercantile adventure. Traffic was the omnipotent magnet of popular attraction, and if, among the many millions of pilgrims, there were some exceptions to the rule, some over whom neither gain nor glory had assumed the dominion, they were few indeed. There is no other view of this case, which can account for the immense multitudes who annually proceeded to Jerusalem. As for religion, the reason commonly assigned, there is no doubt but that it was always a minor consideration: the age was fanatic, because it was ignorant, not because it was devout: and while the Clergy instilled into the people's minds that they could purchase remission of sins by large donations to the Church, *that* feeling alone must have made the accumulation of wealth a most important object of attainment. Wealth, then, *was* the remission of sins; it was their stipulated value, and it was quite natural, that whatever might be their concern for the violation of their Saviour's laws, they should place unbounded affection upon that, which, while pampering depraved passions, freed them from the consequences of sin: and, as the system united gain with pardon, so the holiness of Palestine, being united with its riches, conferred a preference upon that distinguished land, which otherwise it might not have had. Thus, while they took credit to themselves for a long and wearisome pilgrimage, while they conceived their transgressions blotted out, and their peace (with or without the donation,) fully established, they felt the charm of overflowing lockers and crowded magazines. It was reasonable, therefore, that they whose age and infirmities obstructed their pilgrimage, should impress the singular advantages it possessed, upon the minds of their children's children. A little before the occurrence we commemorate, a Crusade had been preached, the Crusaders had embarked, but turned aside to besiege and occupy Constantinople. The continual rumours of this exploit added to the general feeling, and we know not if the Crusade proclaimed the preceding year by Pope Innocent III., a monster of cruelty, against the unfortunate Albigenses, contributed the least to its excess.

While such was the feverish excitement of the public mind, two Ecclesiastics, captives to the Prince of the Assassins, the notorious *old man of the mountains*, were set at liberty, under an engagement to enveigle a multitude of European Children into his power. Accordingly, entering Germany and France, they preached a Crusade against the Infidels, calling upon children of the tenderest years to put their trust in God, and commit themselves to the pious enterprise with the utmost confidence of success.

The object of the Priests in thus duly accomplishing their promise to the Assassin Chief, assuredly did not originate in any sense of an obligation entered into for their deliverance from captivity. It was *then* a well known maxim of the Catholic Church, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, and undoubtedly, if ever faith could be justifiably violated, it ought to be in such an inhuman treaty. Besides, the Papal Absolution was so conveniently at hand, as to present no difficulty to a conscientious servant of the Roman Church; but the truth is, these Priests were disposed to engage in an advantageous traffic, which, to the eternal disgrace of humanity, was at that time frequently resorted to.

Whether the Ecclesiastics, in the hands of the Assassins, soothed their consciences, by vowing part of what their guilt should produce, to the Virgin; or by some other equally efficient measure of the kind, does not certainly appear. We fear they were too abandoned in their iniquity to have consciences at all.

Be this as it may, their efforts were so far effectual, that they aroused an immense congress of both sexes, clad as pilgrims, marked with a cross, and each furnished with a staff and scrip. Full of confidence and enthusiasm, they hurried on their route; possessed with the incredible belief, as one of the records of the time intimates, that God “out of the mouth of babes and sucklings would perfect strength, because of his enemies.” This, indeed, must have been a rare text in the hands of two subtle Priests, addressing a crowd of the most ignorant bigots, stimulated by a variety of overwhelming passions, full of enthusiastic hopes, vehement desires, and superstitious feel-

ings : who could suspect the motive of the instigators? The project was in strict accordance with the opinions of the times ; it took most accurately “their form and pressure ;” and the very thought seemed only to have had its origin in immediate inspiration. Many of the foolish multitude were the offspring of noble families, but, as if to show the prevailing temper of the expedition, Jacob de Voragine confesses that “*ipsi etiam cum meretricibus destinarunt.*”

About 30,000 of these Crusaders (from whom Swift might have borrowed the idea of the Lilliputian squadrons, though it is probable that he took it from the Fable of the Pigmies,) were collected at Vendome, a few leagues from Paris ; from whence they marched in the utmost disorder through Burgundy to Marseilles ; another portion, from Germany, under the conduct of a boy called Nicholas, and amounting to upwards of 7000 souls, passed the Alps, and equipped in the costume adopted by the others, proceeded to Genoa : they traversed all this space of country, supported only by the voluntary contributions of such as put faith in their enterprise, or compassionated their folly. But donations of this nature, divided among a hungry, and, in all probability, a wasteful crowd, could not be of any great extent or importance ; they suffered accordingly, but they still persevered in the undertaking. In vain their parents and friends endeavoured to detain them ; for however brilliantly depicted the expedition might have been, however great and glorious it might actually appear to the majority of the elders, yet the powerful yearnings of nature got the better of their zeal, and apprehension spoke more loudly than superstition. Many, no doubt, were the maternal eyes that overflowed with moisture, and many the maternal bosoms that palpitated with unusual velocity : but, in truth, it was an idle waste of time to represent to these young truants all the madness of the exploit, all the horror of the situation into which they would be precipitated ; the agonies of a Saracen martyrdom, or the long and lingering captivity to which they might be fated. Difficulties but increased the ardor of their resolution, and added one more extraordinary proof of the impetuous and sweeping enthusiasm by which they were carried away :

they evaded confinement, they scaled high walls, or penetrated their amplest imperviousness; they even contrived to escape from the thraldom of heavy fetters. If questioned as to the object of their Pilgrimage, their cry was, "We are going to Jerusalem, to the conquest of the Holy Land:" and though an expedition commenced under such auspices, and prosecuted with every species of wild excess, with the riotous buoyancy of children united to the energy of man, the result of a momentary ardor,—could not but be an object of scandal; yet were there those who could perceive in this blind hallucination of the human intellect, the footprint of Omnipotence. Driven by this insane idea, men and women quitted their homes, and joined the less crazy multitude of Juvenile Crusaders.

As each of the two expeditions proceeded by different routes, and to different ports, we must follow their histories apart. Of the 30,000 from France, but a very small portion ever returned; the remainder perished in the waves, or became an object of treacherous speculation to two merchants of Marseilles, named Hugo Ferrens and William Porcus. These persons, like many others, traffickers, as we have hinted, in human blood, carried on an extensive commerce with the Saracens, for the sale of Children. Here was an occasion too favorable to be lost sight of, and accordingly, the iniquitous varlets proposed furnishing ships to convey the pilgrims to their destination, exempt from every charge. Seven large vessels were filled with the devoted sacrifice: they set sail, and after two days' navigation, were overtaken by a violent tempest near the Island of St. Pierre. Two of the Vessels foundered on a rock, called the Rock of the Recluse: every soul on board perished: happily preserved from apostasy and the doom of their less fortunate companions, their bodies, thrown up by the waves, were interred upon the island; and the Pope, some years after, (then Gregory IX.,) founded a Church upon the site, which he intitled, "The Church of the young Innocents." In the mean while, the five remaining vessels pursued their way to Alexandria in Egypt, and to Bagia in Africa, where the whole living cargo was inhumanly disposed of to Saracen Chiefs, or to Slave Merchants.

Of the German adventurers, on the other hand, after the painful and luckless privilege, after having been subject to constant spoliation from Banditti, ever on the watch, and one of whom they apprehended at Cologne, and hung; after experiencing all the extremes of heat, hunger, and thirst, their numbers daily diminished by every species of distress, many perishing from very want in woods and desolate places, a residue at last reached Genoa. The Senate, naturally alarmed at such an increase of population, so utterly unprovided for, refused to admit them within the city.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate Crusaders, forsaking the inhospitable walls of Genoa, turned backward, destitute of every comfort, barefoot, worn with fatigue and the unexpected obstacles they had encountered. "With the same levity," says the historian, "which they evidenced on quitting their homes, they returned to their household Deities." On being asked the cause of the expedition, and of its abandonment, they answered with exquisite simplicity, (and no doubt with equal truth,) that they were ignorant.

When the reigning Pope, Innocent III., was apprised of this expedition, he groaned heavily, and exclaimed, "These Children reproach us; while they hurry to the defence of Palestine, we are asleep." Innocent was a man of talent and intrigue, and could not but perceive, in the perversion of human understanding, another claim by which to fetter humanity. They who returned to their homes, or remained in Europe, and attained maturity, were constrained by the Pope (Gregory IX., it is probable,) to complete their vows, and assume the Cross once more; so at least we are told by Alleric of the Three Fountains, but it might have been thought that their sufferings on its first assumption, had amply redeemed their vow.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FIFTH CRUSADE.

THE third and fourth Crusades were created by the ordinary influence of Papal power, and Royal authority; but the fifth sprung from genuine fanaticism. At the close of the twelfth century, a hero arose in France worthy of companionship with Bernard. Fulk, of the town of Nuilly, near Paris, was distinguished by the vehemence and ability of his preaching; and as in early life he had drank deeply of the cup of pleasure, he was well qualified to describe the different states of the sinner and the saint. He did not involve himself in the speculative absurdities of the day, but declaimed against the prevailing vices of usury and prostitution. For two years he preached without success, but after that time, heaven lent its aid to the efforts of the Preacher, in order that his words, like arrows from a powerful bow, might penetrate the depraved hearts of men. Accordingly, miracles attested celestial approbation, and his sermons were received as oracles. With the extension of his fame, his wishes for religious good increased, and his zeal was inflamed with the desire of accomplishing the great aim of Christendom. He accordingly assumed the Cross, and war with the Infidels became the copious matter of his sermons. When the people saw that the man of God was signed with the sanguinary badge, and heard him promise to become their leader, the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, the old and the young of both sexes, thronged around him, and received from him, with devout alacrity, the insignia of holy warriors. His miracles and preaching were soon reported in Italy, and the Pope bestowed upon his exertions the Apostolical benediction.

At the early age of thirty-six, Innocent III. was seated in the Papal Chair, and he discharged the high duties of his august station with the same ardor, with which he had pursued his studies in the solitude of the cloister. Since the days of Gregory VII. the Papacy had not been filled with a more arrogant

and aspiring prelate. He was the first Pope that endeavoured to include the fortunes, as well as the consciences of men, in the dominion of the Holy See. Louis and Philip Augustus, Kings of France, and Henry II., King of England, had imposed taxes on their subjects for the benefit of the Crusades, and these precedents were embraced by Innocent. Following the suggestions of an ambitious spirit, his military predecessor Gregory wished to arm Europe against Asia: personal interest had induced Urban to adopt and encourage the general wish for the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre. For a whole century, Papal protection, superstition, and valor, kept the flame alive; but when Innocent, for the avowed purpose of supporting the Crusades, presumed to tax the Clergy, a new character was given to the sacred wars, and a new impulse to the minds of men. The pecuniary levies were not meant for the benefit of Palestine, but for the filling of the coffers of Rome. For the gratification of his luxury and avarice, therefore, the Pope became interested in the Crusades. Each time of his inspiring the people with religious ardor, was the season for general plunder; for although the tax was nominally on the Clergy alone, yet every artifice was used to drain money from the laity. All the influence of Papal royalty was for a while exercised in the promotion of Crusades; and the animating councils of the Vatican checked the chivalry of Europe from sinking into despair.

Innocent III. wrote to the various temporal and spiritual chiefs of Christendom, requiring them to take up arms for the defence of Palestine, or at least to send him considerable succours of men and money. His Nuncios travelled through Europe preaching the holy theme, and the Pardons and Indulgences which they offered, induced many men to become soldiers of God. The Pope commanded the Clergy to contribute the fortieth part of their revenues, and to place boxes in the churches for the reception of the alms of the Laity. The imposition was complied with, and the voluntary oblations of the Princes and people equalled the amount of the contributions of the Clergy. The military spirit of the day directed religious ardor; some noble Knights prevented the preaching

of Fulk, and the commands of Innocent from producing no other effect than that of enriching the treasury of the Vatican.

The Germans solicited and obtained the aid of the republic of Venice; and their united forces were now directed to Constantinople, the rival and sister of Rome, on which the eye of classical enthusiasm dwells with melancholy fondness. On the 20th of June, 1203, they anchored off the Abbey of St. Stephen's, three leagues to the west of the great city. "It was, at that time," says Villehardouin, with extreme simplicity, "that the magnitude and splendor of Constantinople awed the courage of the bravest, and not without reason; for never since the creation of the world, had so bold an enterprise been undertaken by so small a force." The Crusaders were amazed on beholding the ramparts of Constantinople crowded with people and soldiers; and when some of the enemy's stones and darts fell into their ships, the boldest hearts were appalled. The Bishops and Clergy exhorted the soldiers to confess their sins, and to make their wills, for they did not know how soon it might please God to deliver them to death. The capture of the tents and camp equipage of the Greeks, the port of Constantinople, and the tower of Galata, were the first consequences of the terror which the naval and military force of the invaders inspired. Five days after these successes, the astonishing spectacle was exhibited, of a handful of men commencing the siege of the largest city in the world, and finally succeeding in obtaining its occupation. The conquest of the seat of the Grecian Empire being achieved, the triumphant barbarians had the choice of mercy or revenge. But the ferocity to which they were indebted for success, was not readily extinguished; and they abandoned themselves to the usual vices of conquerors. Two thousand Greeks became victims to the rage of conquest, and the malignity of long-concealed hatred.

The scenes of female violation need not be described: the palaces of the rich, and the meanest houses of the poor, were explored for plunder by the cruel diligence of the victors; their sacrilegious hands tore away the ornaments of churches; the coffins of the Emperors were broken open, and the mouldered imperial vestments were stripped from the corpse of Jus-

tinian. Their destruction of the rich and beautiful altar of the church of Sophia, would pass as an ordinary circumstance in the history of sieges; but the annals of profanation have seldom presented us with an instance of a vulgar courtesan, the priestess of the furies, seating herself in the chair of the Patriarch, and singing a bacchanalian song to the corresponding actions of the surrounding soldiers and mob. The Marquis of Montserrat, and the French and Venetian Ecclesiastics, prayed and threatened their companions; but the voice of reason and religion could not abate the storm of the passions. Nothing was so difficult as to soften the ferocity of these barbarians, and to gain their affections: they were so irritable, that a single word would kindle the flame: it was folly to attempt either to lead them, or to make them hear reason.

The scenes of sensuality which every where presented themselves, compelled husbands and fathers to surround their female friends, and to command them to disfigure their faces by dirt. The wild glances of a French soldier fell, however, on a girl, whose charms shone through every attempted concealment or disguise. The licentious wretch pressed his way through the trembling crowd, and snatched the object of his brutal passion from the arms of her aged and helpless father. Nicetas invoked the name of Heaven, and called on his companions to save the virgin from dishonour, and her parent from premature and wretched death. The ruffian smiled in mockery on their misery and helplessness; but so venerable was the appearance of the old man, and so affecting were the shrieks and tears of his child, that the French soldiers, whom the circumstance had drawn to the spot, indignantly tore their comrade away, and virtue had its triumph.

The misfortunes of a city may be repaired by future prosperity; the disgrace of defeat may be effaced by subsequent glory; and the sympathy of other ages for the demolition of edifices and the waste of property, is softened by the reflection, that the tomb has long since closed upon the sufferers. But there are calamities which extend their influence to all ages and countries, and a liberal selfishness will kindle indignation when barbarism has not spared the noble monuments which

genius has reared. By the different sources of purchase and plunder, Constantine had adorned his city with the sculpture and statuary of the Pagan World, the most beautiful Grecian temples were converted into churches, and though in the course of time, penal laws were enforced against heathen worship, yet the pride of ancestry guarded the monuments of ancient fame, till, in the eighth century, the world became divided into the opposite factions of the admirers and the haters of image worship. The statues and pictures of Christian Saints and Martyrs should alone have been the objects of the fury of the Iconoclasts; but the blind zeal of party and superstition hurled into the gulf of destruction, the marble representations of heathen virtue and greatness, and for one hundred and twenty years the fine arts were the victims of theological controversy. The silent and mouldering effects of time were less injurious than the anger, hatred, ignorance, and fanaticism of man. In days of sedition, public edifices were set on fire, but the wantonness and malice of the mob were more destructive than the flames. Notwithstanding all these causes of ruin, Constantinople had enough statues yet remaining to gratify the revenge of the Latins.

Such of the venerable monuments of antiquity as were in marble were broken or destroyed, and such as were in bronze were melted into coin or various utensils. The guilt of this savage destruction lies chiefly on the French, for the four bronze horses in the square of St. Mark in Venice, show that, at least in one instance, the more refined Venetians were satisfied with the milder crime of robbery.

CHAPTER XV.

IN the third canon of the fourth Lateran Council, which was holden by Innocent, in 1215, entitled *De Hereticis*, the Church excommunicates and anathematizes every heresy which opposes the faith which had been established in that Church, and condemns all heretics, by whatever name they are called. The secular legislatures, whatever be their power or titles, are admonished, and, if necessary, are, in order to be considered faithful to the Church, to exert themselves to the utmost, to exterminate all those whom the Church defines to be heretics. If the Princes to whom this Decree of the Church shall come, neglect to obey, they are subject to excommunication. If it be notified to the Pope, that the contumacy of any Prince be continued more than one year, his vassals may be absolved from their allegiance, and his territory be allotted to another, who shall exterminate heretics, and maintain the faith in its purity. “Under this young and ambitious Priest,” says Gibbon, “the successors of St. Peter attained the full meridian of their greatness; and, in a reign of eighteen years, he exercised a despotic command over the Emperors and Kings, whom he raised and deposed; over the nations, whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exercise of Christian worship. In the Council of the Lateran he acted as the ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal, Sovereign of the East and West.” In the plenitude of his power he presented to the assembled Princes and Prelates, seventy canons, which he had previously drawn up; at the same time desiring that no debate should be had respecting them. By these means, he not only confirmed and extended the authority of the Popes, and the power of the Clergy; but imposed *new* Articles of Faith on the Church, among which stood prominently conspicuous, the monstrous and absurd doctrines of *Transubstantiation* and *Auricular Confession*.

The third Canon of this Council denounces heretics, with even more precision than the corresponding canon of the preceding Council. It declares that all heretics are excommuni-

cated and anathematized, and, on conviction, are to be given up to the secular powers, in order to be duly punished. Those who are suspected only, except they prove their innocence, are to be anathematized, excommunicated, and, if they continue in that state for a year, to be condemned as heretics. Secular Magistrates, of whatever degree, are to be compelled to exert their utmost endeavours for the extirpation of all heretics; and if any Governor neglect to do this, he is to be excommunicated, and, after a year, as before, denounced to the Pope, who shall absolve his subjects from their allegiance, and let true Catholics take possession of his country. The Catholics who take the Cross for the purpose of exterminating heretics, shall be entitled to the same indulgences and privileges with Crusaders to the Holy Land. Excommunication, and all sorts of disabilities and penalties connected with it, are denounced on the favorers of heretics; and Bishops and Archdeacons are enjoined, wherever any heretics are reported to live, to take, once in the year at least, information concerning them on oath, from some of their neighbours; who, if they refuse the oath, are themselves to be accounted heretics.

Rome now inspired all the terror of her ancient name; she was once more the mistress of the world, and its Kings were her vassals.

Of all the European Princes, none felt in so dishonorable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent Pontiff, as John, surnamed Sans Terre, King of England. This Prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent. The King also declared to the Pontiff, that if he persisted in imposing a Prelate upon the See of Canterbury, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequence of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the Papal authority in England. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that, in the year 1208, he sent orders to the Bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an interdict. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended, except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways, without the

usual rites, or any funeral solemnity. But the interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the Pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English Monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed, about three years after, by a Bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that Innocent carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a Council of Cardinals and Prelates, he deposed John, and declared the throne of England vacant. He, at the same time, published another Bull, exhorting all Christian Princes to contribute whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprise, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in the nobles of his court, and in the officers of his army, complied with the dishonorable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the Legate, and received it again as a present from the See of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdom tributary, and swore fealty, as a vassal and a feudatory. In the act by which he resigned, thus scandalously, his kingdom to the Papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear or force; but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice, and with the consent, of the Barons of his kingdom. Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity: the establishment of Transubstantiation, by the Council of Lateran, in 1215, and the origin of the Inquisition. At his voice, two Crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken; but except a King of Hungary, the Princes of the second order only were at the head of the pilgrims; the forces were inadequate to the design; nor did the effects correspond with the hopes and wishes of the Pope and the people. Innocent did not confine his efforts to the Holy Land; he promoted a Crusade against the Albi-

genses, whom he first attempted to convert by his Missionaries; to assist in which, all the Princes and Nobles were invited to take up arms, and Abbots and Priests were commissioned to preach, throughout Christendom, a Crusade against the Albigenses. These heralds of cruelty promised paradise, and the remission of sins, to all who should take the Cross in this *holy* war, and serve against the Albigenses for forty days, together with the utmost extent of indulgence which former Popes had granted to those who labored for the deliverance of the Holy Land.

The favorite text of these Preachers was Psalm xciv. 16: "Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?" Which they applied somewhat in the manner following:—"You see, most dear brethren, how great the wickedness of the heretics is, and how much mischief they do in the world. You see, also, the tenderness of the Church, and by how many pious methods she labours to reclaim them; but with them they all prove ineffectual, and they all fly to the secular power for their defence. Therefore our holy Mother, the Church, though with great reluctance and grief, calls together against them the Christian army. If, then, you have any zeal for the faith; if you are touched with any concern for the glory of God; if you would reap the benefit of this great indulgence, (*viz.*, paradise, and the pardon of all sin,) come and receive the sign of the Cross, and join yourselves to the army of the crucified Saviour."

To preserve some appearance of decency, however, the Court of Rome pretended, that nothing would give the Church greater satisfaction than the prevention of bloodshed, provided the heretics could be reclaimed by persuasion.

Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse, and several others of the French nobility, having afforded protection to the Albigenses, multitudes of these persecuted Christians took up their residence in the country of Toulouse. Raymond's conduct, however, gave great offence to the Sovereign Pontiff, and Innocent evinced the utmost solicitude to prevail upon him to expel the heretics from his dominions. For this purpose he sent his Legate, Peter of Castelnan, to the Count, requiring him to

sign a treaty, by which the united forces of the Roman Catholics were to be employed in their extermination ; but all his entreaties to induce Raymond to banish so great a number of his peaceable subjects, to persecute them, or to admit into his state an army, that was to pillage and kill all those whom the Priests should point out as heretics, proving fruitless, Castellan excommunicated Raymond, and laid his country under an interdict. Innocent lost no time in confirming the sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced by his Legate ; he even wrote himself to the Count, on the 20th May, 1207, beginning his letter in the following haughty terms :—“ If we could open your heart, we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed ; but, as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the words of salvation : we cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man ! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbours, and to brave the divine laws, by protecting the enemies of the faith ? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes ? ”

Instigated by the Papal exhortations, and those of his fanatical Preachers, an army, consisting of upwards of a hundred thousand Crusaders, marched, in 1209, to destroy the heretics. Anxious for his own safety, and desirous of saving his subjects from the fury of their enemies, Raymond repaired to Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, who was leader of the Popish forces, and earnestly solicited him for mercy. This was granted only for himself, on terms the most abject and humiliating. He was compelled to take the Cross against the Albigenses, to surrender several of his castles to the Crusaders, to suffer himself to be publicly scourged, and, after all, to promise to submit to whatever other judgment the Legate should be pleased afterwards to pronounce upon him. His nephew, Raymond Roger, on the other hand, determining not to give up his peaceable subjects into the hands of murderers, made every preparation possible for repelling the attacks of the crusading army ; and for this purpose, strongly fortified the cities of Beziers and Carcasson.

Pretending, hypocritically enough, to be averse to the shedding of blood, the Pope gave out, that he was desirous of reclaiming the heretics by the gentle and reasonable methods of persuasion. No sooner did this reach the ears of the Albigenses, than they informed his Holiness, that they were ready to hold a public conference with their opponents, where the points in dispute might be discussed, on condition that all appeals should be made to Scripture, and that the business should be conducted with impartiality and propriety. For the sake of amusing the Albigenses, this proposal was acceded to, and the conference took place in 1206, near Carcasson. Several Pastors were deputed to manage the debate for the Albigenses, of whom Arnold Hot was the principal. He discoursed, for the space of four days, with great fluency and readiness, and with such order, perspicuity, and strength of argument, that a powerful impression was made on the audience. At length, Arnold desired that the Bishops and Monks would undertake to vindicate the Mass and Transubstantiation, by the word of God. What they said on the occasion, we are not told; but the cause of the abrupt conclusion of the conference, (a matter of fact, allowed on all sides,) showed which party had the advantage in argument. While the two Legates were disputing with Arnold at Montreal, and at the same time, several other conferences were held in different places, the Bishop of Villeneuve, the umpire of the Papal party, declared that nothing could be determined, because of the coming of the Crusaders. What he asserted was too true; the Papal armies advanced, and decided the controversy, according to the custom of the Romish Church, by the slaughter of an immense number of these unsuspecting people.

Proceeding forward, the Crusaders soon gained possession of a number of cities belonging to the Albigenses, the streets of which they filled with slaughter and blood, and committed to the flames multitudes whom they had taken prisoners. They then marched towards Beziers, which Raymond Roger perceiving could not hold out long against so formidable an army; he earnestly intreated the Legate that it might be spared, or, at least, that the innocent might not suffer with

the guilty. Finding that inhuman Prelate inflexible, he informed the inhabitants of his ill success, and of the only conditions upon which pardon could be obtained, namely, that all the Albigenses should either abjure their religion, or that they should be delivered into the hand of the Popish army. These conditions being rejected both by the Roman Catholic and the Albigensian inhabitants, the city was taken by assault, when a scene of bloodshed and cruelty was exhibited, which might have made the most barbarous of the human race to blush. As the Crusaders were entering the gates, inquiry was made of the Legate, how they should act in regard to the Roman Catholics; to which Arnold promptly replied, "Kill them all,—the Lord knoweth them that are his." Upwards of twenty-three thousand victims were sacrificed to Popish cruelty on that occasion, and the city itself was destroyed by fire.

The Crusaders proceeded next to Carcasson, which was resolutely defended by Raymond Roger in person; and, after considerable loss, succeeded in gaining possession of the suburbs. Notwithstanding their numbers were now increased to upwards of three hundred thousand men, yet all their efforts to render themselves masters of the city, were of no avail. One attack followed another, with no better success, and the ditches which surrounded the city were literally filled with the dead bodies of the pilgrims. The period of forty days, besides, for which the Crusaders had enlisted, was now finished, and multitudes of the Legate's forces abandoned the enterprise, and returned to their own countries. Alarmed at these discouraging symptoms, the Legate had recourse to a most perfidious stratagem. He employed a gentleman related to Raymond Roger, who happened to be with him, to enter into the city, and to entice that Nobleman to accompany him to Arnold, for the purpose of negotiating a peace, under pledges the most solemn, that he should be safely conducted back again to the city. No sooner, however, did Raymond Roger appear before the Legate, than he was seized, thrown into prison, and put to death by means of poison. Astonished and horrified at these traitorous proceedings, the inhabitants of Carcasson now thought of nothing but how to escape their present dangers; which,

contrary to all expectation, they effected by means of a subterraneous passage, that led from the city to the castle of Caberet, a distance of about three leagues. Having arrived at the castle, they dispersed themselves through different parts of the country, some proceeding to Arragon, some to Catalonia, and others to Toulouse, or wherever God, in his providence, opened a door for their admission. Finding that the Albigenses had made their escape, the Legate seized the spoil which he found in the city, and distributed it among the pilgrims.

After some repose, a new Crusade was formed against the almost exterminated Albigenses; and in 1226, Louis VIII. of France, together with the Pope's Legate, besieged Avignon, with an army of fifty thousand horsemen. For three months the besieged defended the city with the greatest bravery, during which time, twenty thousand of the French army perished; and had not the Legate, as usual, had recourse to fraud, the crusading army would have been forced to raise the siege. Having given his oath that he only wished their welfare, the citizens, at length, consented to receive him and a few lords of the army within their walls, for the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of a capitulation. But no sooner had they opened their gates, than the whole army of the Crusaders rushed forward, and seizing the citizens, they bound them in chains, plundered their houses, put great numbers of them to death, and demolished the walls of the city.

This, together with some other acts of barbarity, proved the ruin of the Albigenses. After nearly thirty years of cruel persecution, during which upwards of a million of these people were put to death, they were almost wholly destroyed, or driven from their country. During all that period blood never ceased to flow, nor the flames to devour their victims, in Albigeois and the surrounding country; whilst a few who escaped the edge of the sword, fled for refuge to the valleys of Piedmont, or took up their abode in Austria, Bohemia, and other kingdoms, to which the horrors of persecution had not yet extended.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SIXTH CRUSADE.

EVERY project of ambition, which the daring genius of Gregory VII. had formed, was embraced by the ardent spirit of Innocent III. In raising a fabric of Ecclesiastical policy on the ruins of Gospel liberty, the importance of guiding the military arm of Europe, was not lost sight of. The Commands of the Vatican were hurled upon every part of Europe, calling men to exterminate infidelity. In a circular letter to the Sovereigns and Clergy, the Pope declared, that the time was at last arrived, when the most happy results might be expected from a confederation of the Christian powers. Such men as fought faithfully for God, would obtain a crown of glory; but those who, on the present urgent occasion, refused to serve him, would be punished everlastingly. "Jesus Christ has kindly pointed out to you, the way for your redeeming yourselves from the vices and frivolities of the world. But he will condemn you of gross ingratitude and infidelity, if you neglect to march to his succour at a time when he is in danger of being driven from a kingdom which he acquired by his blood. The Mohammedan heresy, the beast foretold by the Spirit, will not live for ever; 'its age is six hundred and sixty-six.' On the very spot, on Mount Tabor itself, where the Redeemer showed his future glory to his disciples, the Saracens have raised a fortress for the confusion of the Christian name. They hope, by means of this fortress, to possess themselves of Acre, and then to subjugate all the Holy Land, at present almost destitute of sacred soldiers." His Holiness then remitted the punishment of sins, not only for those who went, but for such as contributed largely to the expenses of the enterprise. The protection of St. Peter was promised to the families and fortunes of the pilgrims. They who had bound themselves to pay usury were released from their oaths; and secular power should compel the Jews to remit their claims. Three years was the time for which the faithful were to enlist under the banners

of Christ: and the wealthy Clergy and Nobility were to support the poor, but faithful, pilgrims. The maritime powers were to contribute their ships. The war against the Saracens was to be the permanent consideration of Europe. The laws should be put in force, which forbad the sale of warlike materials to the enemy. The Indulgences were revoked which had been granted to those who quitted their homes in order to exterminate heresy in Provence, and infidelity in Spain.

In a letter to the Sultan of Aleppo, written in 1212, the Pope had complimented the Saracen upon his respect for Christianity, and implored him to regard with favor, and protect to the utmost of his power, the Patriarch of Antioch, and his Church. But when some probability appeared that the successor of Urban could, like his great predecessor, arm Europe against Asia, Innocent wrote to Saphadin as the Sultan of Cairo and Damascus, that the Holy Land was in possession of the Mussulmans, not on account of their virtue, but because of the sins of the Christians. The anger of heaven was, however, tempered with mercy; and the time was at hand when that mercy would be shown in an especial manner. His Holiness then, in peaceful language, solicited Saphadin to resign the Holy Land to the Christians, and not retain out of false glory, a country which was the source of more inconvenience than profit to the Moslems.

The Crusade was preached in every cathedral, and in every church, of Western Christendom. The Pope was earnest, and his Legates were active. Among those who most loudly and successfully pleaded the cause of religion, was Robert de Courcon, a man inferior in talents and consideration to St. Bernard, but whose fanaticism was as fervent as that of Peter and Fulk. Clad in the Roman purple, and armed with the authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Cardinal gave every possible dignity to the office of missionary. But his prudence kept not pace with his zeal, for, like Peter the Hermit, he admitted every one to take the Cross. Women, children, the old, the blind, the lame, the lepers, all were enrolled in the sacred militia. The high-minded cavaliers felt, therefore, a great repugnance at becoming his disciples, because

such a confusion would naturally injure the success of an expedition which required skilful co-operation. The multitude of the Crusaders was innumerable, and the voluntary offerings of money which were put into the charitable boxes in the churches, were immense. Philip Augustus contributed the fortieth part of his revenues; and it is singular, that this money was to be employed for purposes of the holy war, agreeably to the directions of the Kings and Barons of France and England.

The Pope, treading in the steps of his predecessors, convoked a General Council, for the purpose of chastising vice, condemning heresy, and of inducing the princes and people to undertake the sacred expedition. In the month of November, 1215, the religious and political authorities assembled in the church of the Lateran, and the greatness of their number, and their exalted rank, testify the zealous preaching of the Pope's Legates. There were present the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, the Ambassador of the Patriarch of Antioch, seventy-four metropolitan Primate, and three hundred and forty Bishops; the Abbots and Friars numbered eight hundred, but the representatives of the higher Clergy could not be calculated. The Emperor of Constantinople, the Kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Arragon, and the Sovereigns of many other countries, were represented in the assembly. After some opinions differing from those of the established Church had been pronounced odious and damnatory, war against the Saracens was declared to be the most sacred duty of the European world. The usual privileges, such as were mentioned in the Pope's letter, were accorded to the pilgrims. "In order," say the decrees of the Council, "that his Holiness should not be considered a mere preacher of the duties of mankind, he gave to the purposes of the war, thirty thousand pounds, beside the maritime expenses of the Roman pilgrims." The Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers, and Templars were to be the distributors of the Papal bounty; and through the same agency, and for the same purposes, all the Clergy, (except those who were Croises,) were for three years to contribute the twentieth part of their Ecclesiastical revenues. Re-

ferring to the decrees of old Councils, tournaments during the three years of the Crusade were forbidden, lest the representation of war should draw men's attention from war itself. Civil dissensions were to be suspended, and peace was to reign in the Christian world, during all the time of the holy contest. In the sermons which he preached to the Council, Innocent declared his intention of visiting the Holy Land. The pulpits of Europe announced the grateful intelligence, and the people agreed with their Pastors, that success would be certain, if they were led by the Sovereign Pontiff.

A people, who had been the scourge of the first Crusaders, took the lead on this new occasion. In the time of Peter the Hermit, the Hungarians were such young religionists, that they had not embraced half the superstitious usages which had been grafted on Christianity. But in the century that succeeded, they often breathed the hot air of fanaticism; and when the sixth Holy War was preached, they aspired to the glory of recovering the sacred Sepulchre.

A voyage of a few days brought the Christian army within sight of Damietta. The soldiers landed, and encamped on the western side of the Nile. The Duke of Austria, the Knights of St. John, and the troops of Germany and of the Teutonic order, endeavoured to take the tower, for the purpose of facilitating an attack on the city's walls next the Nile. But their ladders broke, many of the soldiers were precipitated into the water, and the noise of the Egyptian brazen drums and trumpets announced to the camp the fate of the escaladers. Ingenuity assisted valour, and a Priest of Cologne, aided by the Teutonic Knights, built an immense wooden castle on the basis of two vessels lashed to each other. The chiefs of the army declared, that all which skill or expense could furnish, had been used, and that the world had never witnessed so noble a work. By processions round the Cross, by fasting and prayer, Heaven was propitiated; in the spirit of fanaticism, or of excellent policy, a Saint's day, that of St. Bartholomew, was fixed for the new assault; and in order to banish envy and discontent, and to excite emulation, the gallant band destined

for the attack was selected from every nation in the army. The battle lasted for twenty-four hours, and the city of Damietta and the Christian camp resounded, at different times, with the shouts of victory and the lamentations of defeat. In spite of every precaution, the Mussulmans set fire to the ladders of the Franks, and the ensign of the Duke of Austria fell beneath the triumphant banner of the Saracens. The acclamations of the people of Damietta enraged the Duke and his troops, and the clamorous appeals to heaven of the Patriarch and his Clergy, kept their courage unallayed. The catapults and balistæ shook the walls of the castle to their foundations, and the garrison were happy in surrendering to the discretion of the besiegers.

But revenge sought its victims in vain. Damietta was one vast charnel house. Of a population, which, at the beginning of the siege, consisted of more than seventy thousand souls, three thousand only were the relics. The conquerors marched through a pestilential vapour. The streets, the mosques, and the houses were strewn with dead bodies. The rich and the poor, the master and the servant, lay with no reference to distinction. The children at the breast had drawn the last remnants of life from their mothers, and were crying for sustenance. The Clergy consigned them to the Christian women, but, in most cases, the cries of the infants had been the last struggles of nature, and they suffered the fate of their parents. From scenes of death, the Christians turned to plunder. Damietta was as rich a city as any in Islamism; and the terrible anathemas of the Legate could not prevent self-appropriation of the spoil. Dominion over the place was given to the King of Jerusalem. The splendid mosque was converted into a Christian church, and dedicated to the Virgin and all the Apostles. But the soldiers were soon compelled to return to the camp, for pestilence was in the city. Life and liberty were granted to the surviving Mussulmans, on their performing the horrid and melancholy task of cleansing the city from the remains of their relations and friends.

At the time appointed for the sailing of the German auxiliaries, Brundisium and its vicinity were crowded with soldiers.

But the heats of summer destroyed the health of the people of the North; thousands died; and of those who endeavoured to return to their homes, the greatest part perished through poverty or disease. Although the Emperor did not escape the common illness, yet he embarked at Brundisium; but, after sailing for three days, additional infirmity compelled him to return. Gregory inherited the Papal virtues of violence and ambition. On Michaelmas-day he mounted the pulpit of the church of Anagni, and after enlarging on the important results of St. Michael's victory over the Dragon, and declaring that that event was only a type of the Christian and Saracenian states, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the Emperor, for declining to combat the enemy of God. The Bull was circulated throughout Europe, and the Pope was strong in his expressions of self-commendation for his tenderness to the Emperor, in drawing against him the medicinal sword of St. Peter. Frederick wrote letters to the Kings and Princes of Europe, highly expressive of his indignation at such unworthy treatment. He bitterly censured the rapacity and avarice of the Romish Church, and contrasted the general cruelty of its conduct with the spirit of meekness upon which the Church of Christ was founded.

The thunders of the Vatican rolled, again and again, over the head of the Emperor, but the author of them suffered more than the object. The Roman Barons were indignant at the unworthy treatment which the successor of Charlemagne, the protector of the Church, had received; and they allowed his vindication to be publicly read in the capitol. The Emperor sent troops into the Papal territories, who ravaged the March of Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter. Such of the Hospitalers and Templars (the firm friends of the Pope) as had estates in the imperial dominions in Italy, were plundered and dispossessed. The Emperor heavily taxed his subjects, both Churchmen and laity for the expenses of the Holy War. In defiance of Gregory's warnings against his entering on the Crusade, till he should be relieved from the censures of the Church, Frederick embarked at Brundisium in August, and arrived shortly afterwards at Acre. He then made further advances

towards Jerusalem ; on his arrival at which, he boldly took the crown from the altar, and placed it on his own head, and Herman de Saltza pronounced a laudatory oration. Orders were then given for the restoration of the city's walls, and the Emperor returned to Acre. In that city, too, there was every demonstration of sorrow at his appearance. Mass was performed in secret ; the churches were deprived of their ornaments ; the bells were not rung ; and the dead were interred without any religious ceremony. But by some well-measured acts of severity, a semblance of respect was at length shown to the Emperor ; and he then returned to Europe, leaving the Priests and people to thank Heaven for his departure.

In the year 1216, Innocent undertook a journey to Pisa ; but on his arrival at Perugia, he was attacked with a violent disorder, which put an end to his life in a few days. Mr. Berrington observes of this Pope, that " the prerogative of the Holy See, built up by adulation and misjudging zeal, filled his mind ; and the meteor of universal empire gleaming on his senses, did not permit the operation of a dispassionate and unbiassed judgment. No tears were shed when Innocent fell, but those which Religion wept, too justly pained by the inordinate exertions, and worldly views of her first minister." On the death of Innocent, Honorius succeeded to the Papal Chair, and for ten years zealously maintained the usurped prerogatives of the Roman See. During this Pontificate, John de Brienne, the titular King of Jerusalem, offered Frederick his only daughter in marriage, with the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dowry, on condition that he, within two years, performed the vow he had made, of leading an army to the Holy Land. The Emperor married her on these terms, because he wished to please the Pope ; yet still he evinced no solicitude to go and conquer his wife's portion.

The institution of the Mendicant or Begging Friars, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, is, by all writers, considered as one great cause that contributed to uphold the power of the Roman See. The acquisition of wealth, and its natural consequences, had operated not only upon the secular Clergy, but also upon the ancient monastic orders, to the neglect of that

voluntary humiliation and austerity of manners, in self-mortification and the renouncing of worldly enjoyments, which are far more commanding over the superstitious veneration of the vulgar and ignorant, than the influence even of power and riches. This had been seen in the progress made by the sects that now stood in opposition to the Roman hierarchy. The genius of the Papacy, wise in its generation, contrived a remedy for this; or, to speak in Scriptural language, the “prince of darkness,” not exhausted in his artifices to support his reign, had a “deceiveableness of unrighteousness” ready at hand, to delude those who were beginning to grow dissatisfied under the galling yoke of their spiritual tyrants—now, to many, more an object of envy on account of their earthly possessions, than of any fixed principle of religious veneration.

This contrivance was, the institution of new orders of Monks or Friars, who should embrace voluntary poverty, be capable of acquiring no property, but subsist on alms and the charity of the people. The two most celebrated of these orders were the Dominicans and the Franciscans, called after their founders, St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisa, and established by the authority of Pope Honorius III. These great reformers, who have produced so extraordinary an effect upon mankind, were of very different characters; the one, active and ferocious, had taken a prominent part in the crusade against the unfortunate Albigeois, and was among the first who bore the terrible name of Inquisitor; while the other, a harmless enthusiast, pious and sincere, but hardly of a sane mind, was much rather accessory to the intellectual than to the moral degradation of his species. Various other orders of Mendicant Friars were instituted in the thirteenth century; but most of them were soon suppressed; and besides the two principal, none remain but the Augustines and the Carmelites.

These new itinerants, enlisted into the armies of the Papacy, were also known by the name of “Preaching Friars;” no doubt, in distinction from the established Clergy, who had become very sparing of these labours among the people. Nor, in the temper of the times, were they less acceptable to the multitudes, who thronged to hear their sermons, by inveighing freely

against the supineness and corruption of their spiritual guides. They practised all the stratagems of itineracy, preaching in the public streets, and administering the communion on a portable altar. Thirty years after their institution, an historian complains that the parish churches were deserted, that none confessed except to these Friars; in short, that the regular discipline was subverted. But all this was rendered conducive, through the policy of Rome, to her increase of power and wealth, by the protection and indulgences which her Pontiffs afforded them. In spite of all the opposition of the Bishops and Clergy, and of the University of Paris, which continued to be urged against them till almost the end of the thirteenth century, Rome was always their friend, and Boniface VIII. peremptorily established the privileges and immunities of these Mendicant Orders.

In the year 1227, Hugolin, Bishop of Ostia, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, or diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the Pontificate, assumed the title of Gregory IX., and kindled the feuds and dissensions that had already secretly subsided, between the Church and the Empire, into an open and violent flame. He wrote to the Emperor Frederick II., exhorting him to fulfil the solemn promises which he had made to embark a sufficient army for the relief of the Christians in the East, adding the severest menaces if he should decline the undertaking.

In order to rouse the Christian world to engage in these fanatical wars, Gregory issued the following impious Bull, for the encouragement of the Adventurers. "Notwithstanding the ingratitude of Christians," says he, "the goodness of God is not withdrawn from them, his providence is still actively engaged to promote the happiness of mankind, his remedies suit their temper, his prescriptions are proportioned to the disease: the service to which they are now invited, is an effectual atonement for the miscarriages of a negligent life. The discipline of a regular Penance would have discouraged many offenders so much, that they would have had no heart to venture upon it; but the Holy War is a compendious method of discharging men from guilt, and restoring them to the divine favor!

Even if they die on their march, the intention will be taken for the deed, and many in this way may be crowned without fighting!!”

The Council of Spoleto, under the influence of the Pope, soon after decreed that fresh levies should be sent into Asia, on the expiration of the truce with Camel. The Franciscans and Dominicans were the bearers of the resolutions to the princes and people of Christendom. But it was soon apparent that the recovery of the Holy Land was not the paramount consideration in the mind of Gregory IX.; for preaching the Crusade once more became the means of filling the Papal coffers. By the different engines of persuasion and compulsion, the Missionaries gained numberless converts, and then allowed the unwilling, and compelled the wealthy, Croises to give the Church great largesses, in exchange for their vow. The once humble Friars grew so rich by these exactions, that their pride and magnificence were detestable in the eyes of the people. These disgraceful scenes were acted in England for two years; but the indignation of society at the avarice of the Pope was so strong, that the preaching ceased. Pope Innocent IV. convoked a General Council at Lyons: the Bishop of Beritus described the effects of the Tartarian storm, and left his ecclesiastical brethren to conclude whether one effort should not be made for a restoration of things to the state in which Richard, Earl of Cornwall, had left them. It was accordingly resolved, that a Crusade should be preached throughout Christendom, and that for four years peace and seriousness should reign over Europe. Such of the faithful as did not expose their persons in the holy cause were to give the subsidiary aid of treasure; and the contribution to be made by the Cardinals, was fixed at a tenth; and that of the other Ecclesiastics, at a twentieth part of their yearly revenues. The Pope wrote to Henry III., King of England, urging him to press upon his subjects the necessity of punishing the Korasmians. But the spirit of Crusading raged more strongly in France than in any other country of the West; and it revived in all its fierceness of piety and chivalry in Louis IX. Agreeably to the temper of the times, he had vowed, whilst afflicted by a severe illness, that in

case of a recovery, he would travel to the Holy Land. In the delirium of his fever, he had beheld an engagement between the Christians and the Saracens; the Infidels were victorious, and the brave king of a valiant nation fancied himself called upon to avenge the defeat. Sentiments of respect for the King of France were not felt in his country alone: the people of England revered his name; and, avowedly in imitation of his example, the Bishop of Salisbury, William Longespee, Walter de Lucy, and many other English Nobles and Gentlemen, were crossed. William Longespee was, or feigned himself, poor, and went to Rome to solicit the aid of the Pope. "Your Holiness sees that I am signed with the Cross: my name is great and of note, William Longespee; but my fortune is not equal to the dignity of my family. The King of England, my relation, and liege lord, has bereft me of the title and estate of Earl of Salisbury; but he has done this judicially, and not in his displeasure, or by the impulse of his will; therefore I cast no blame on him. But I am compelled to fly to your compassionate heart for aid in this distress. We see that the noble Richard, Earl of Cornwall, although not signed with the Cross, yet, through the favour of your Holiness, has received large sums of money from those who are signed; and therefore, I who am signed, and in want, do entreat the like kindness." As the Englishman did not require the coffers of the Vatican, the Pope received him with great favor, admired his eloquence and chivalric accomplishments, and gave him letters of license to plunder his crusading countrymen. Longespee returned to England, and extorted more than a thousand marks from the religious; while the less scrupulous, or more powerful Earl of Cornwall was insatiable in his avarice, and gained from one Archdeacon alone, six hundred pounds.

Perpetual disappointment gradually desiccated the spring of hope, and the King turned his mind to France. His friends marked his change of purpose, and news from Europe of the death of his royal mother, the Regent of his kingdom, made him openly proclaim his resolution to return. The Patriarch and Barons of Palestine offered him their humble thanks and praise for the great good and honor he had conferred on the

Holy Land ; and, shortly after Easter, he embarked for the West. Louis IX. gathered no new laurels in this transmarine expedition. All that was great and chivalric in France had been spread out in martial array, and had met with little else than discomfiture and defeat.

All the blood which had been shed, and all the treasure which France had lavished for the Crusade of St. Louis, did not long preserve the Christians in Palestine from the hostilities of the Mussulmans ; and as no new succours arrived from Europe, the Barons and Knights were compelled, in some cases, to keep within the shelter of their fortresses, and at other times, to make disadvantageous treaties with their foe. Although it was evident that nothing but unanimity in the holy warriors could preserve the remnants of the kingdom of Godfrey of Bouillon from annihilation, yet the Christians wasted their strength in party collusions ; instead of watching the politics of the Saracenian courts, and gathering those branches of power which their enemies, in their ambitious feuds, continually broke from the tree of Islamism.

Before the news of the capture of Antioch reached Europe, the people of the West had contemplated a new Crusade. St. Louis thought that his first expedition to the Holy Land brought more shame on France, than good on the Christian cause ; and he feared that his own personal fame had withered. The Pope encouraged his inclinations for a new attempt ; and, in a general assembly of Prelates, Nobility, and People, at Paris, the King exhorted his hearers to revenge the wrongs which Christ had so long suffered. England was at that time in a state of repose, and her martial youth were impatient of indolence. The assumption of the Cross by the heir of the English throne, spread great joy through France. He was invited to Paris : the co-operation of the English and French was determined upon ; and Louis lent his youthful ally thirty thousand marks, on the security of the Customs of Bordeaux. The Prelates and Clergy of England agreed to contribute a tenth of their revenues for three years ; and, by a parliamentary ordinance, a twentieth part was taken from the corn and moveables which the Laity possessed at Michaelmas.

Anticipating the laurel of victory, or the crown of martyrdom, St. Louis spread his sails for the Holy Land. Sixty thousand soldiers were animated by their Monarch's feelings of religious and military ardor; but every where sanguine expectation was damped, when a pestilential disease spread its ravages through the Christian ranks. The great stay of the Crusades fell. During his illness, he ceased not to praise God, and supplicate for the people he had brought with him. He became speechless; he then gesticulated what he could not utter; he perpetually made signs of the cross, stretched himself on the floor, which was covered with ashes; and, in the final struggle of nature, he turned his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed, "I will enter thy house; I will worship in thy sanctuary."

But the march of victory was closed; for the English soldiers were parched with the rays of a Syrian sun, and their leader was extended on a bed of sickness. The Governor of Jaffa was the apparent friend of Edward, but the Sultan's threats of degradation, if further commerce were held with an infidel, changed courtesy into malignity, and his brutal zeal for the display of his loyalty, must have satisfied even the suspicious bosom of a tyrant. He hired the dagger of one of those assassins, who had escaped the prescription which the Tartars, mercifully for the world, had made of the followers of the old man of the mountain. The wretch, as the bearer of letters, was admitted into the chamber of his intended victim. The purpose of his errand being accomplished, he drew a poniard from the concealment of his belt, and aimed a blow at Edward's breast. After receiving two or three wounds, the vigorous Prince threw the villain on the floor, and stabbed him to the heart. The dagger had been steeped in poison, and for some hours Edward's fate was considered in danger. The fairy hand of fiction has ascribed his convalescence to one of that sex, whose generous affections are never restrained by the chilling calculations of selfishness; but the stern pen of history has recorded, that his restoration to health was the simple result of surgical skill, co-operating with the salient spring of a vigorous frame. The English soldiers burned to revenge, on

the Turkish people, the dastardly act of the assassin; but Edward checked them, and forgot his own injuries when he reflected that, were he to sanction murder, the humble, unarmed pilgrims could never claim the protection of the Saracens. After the English Prince had been fourteen months in Acre, the Sultan of Egypt offered peace, for wars with the Moslem powers engrossed his military strength. Edward gladly seized this occasion of leaving the Holy Land; for his force was too small for the achievement of great actions, and his father had implored his return to England. The hostile commanders signed, accordingly, a treaty, for a ten years' suspension of arms; the lords of Syria disarrayed their warlike fronts, and the English soldiers quitted Palestine for their native country.

At the time when Palestine began to breathe from the horrors of war, hope once more raised her head, in consequence of the election to the Chair of St. Peter falling, in 1227, upon Ugo, Bishop of Ostia. The choice of the Cardinals was made known to him while he was in Palestine. He had witnessed, with sorrow and indignation, the dreadful extremities to which the Christians were reduced; and, in the tumult of the passions, his reason did not allow him to measure objects as to their practicability. He impatiently transported himself to Italy, and so ardent was his zeal, that his endeavours for a Crusade even preceded his introduction to the Pontificate. The trumpet of war again was heard among the nations: the blast was, however, only faintly echoed. Again was the Christian world assembled, and the Council of Lyons decreed the obligation of a new Crusade; that the Clergy should pay a tenth of their revenues for six years, and that boxes should be placed in churches, for the voluntary oblations of the laity. But Pope Gregory died within two years after the sitting of the Lyonese Council, and all thoughts of a Crusade were dropped, when the life of its great promoter closed.

Frederick, obedient to the order, having embarked for Palestine, but not having sued for absolution before his departure, he was still the object of Gregory's resentment, who took every method to render his expeditions fruitless, and to excite

civil wars in his Italian dominions. When Frederick received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, he returned into Europe in the year 1229, defeated the Papal army, retook the places he had lost in Sicily and in Italy, and, in the succeeding year, made his peace with the Pontiff, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however was of short duration ; for the Emperor could not tamely bear the insolent proceedings and the imperious temper of Gregory. He, therefore, broke all measures with that headstrong Pontiff, which drew the thunders of the Vatican anew upon the Emperor's head. In the year 1239, Frederick was excommunicated publicly, with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated Pontiff.

The Pope passed sentence against the Emperor Frederick, upon a charge of having violated a treaty of peace, and also upon a vehement suspicion of heresy. The words of the sentence were these:—"Inasmuch as we, though unworthy, do stand in the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and to us it was said, in the person of the Apostle Peter, 'Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, shall be bound in heaven;' we having previously used diligent deliberation with our brethren, and the Holy Council," (the Council of Lyons received as General, at Maynooth,) "concerning the above, and many other nefarious excesses, do declare the aforesaid Prince, to be bound in his sins, to be cast away, and deprived of all honor and dignity; we denounce him, and deprive him, by this sentence, absolving his subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and by our apostolical authority, strictly enjoining, that no one shall hereafter obey him as Emperor or King."

The Emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, and appealed, for a more efficient vindication, to his sword. To extricate himself from his perplexities, the Pope convened, in the year 1240, a General Council at Rome, with a view of deposing Frederick, by the unanimous suffrages of the Cardinals and Prelates that were to compose that assembly ; but the Emperor disconcerted

that audacious project, by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these Prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend Fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, together with the approach of the Emperor, and his victorious army, gave such a shock to the Pope, that he was seized with an illness, which put an end to his life in a few days, after he had been at the head of the Church nearly fifteen years.

It was during this Pontificate that the Inquisition originated. The form and office of this most hateful of institutions are ascribed to Dominic, a Spanish Monk, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and founded the monastic order called after his name. This man, whose fierce and malignant temper was roused by the heresies which then abounded, assailed the Albigenses, and other opposers of the corruption of Rome, with bitter and violent invectives; to which, as more effectual, he added the terrors of the Inquisition. After the Reformation, the Roman Pontiffs, in order to suppress the rising spirit of inquiry, introduced this terrible engine into every accessible country, hoping, thereby, to extinguish the light which they hated, and to bring back the darkness they loved. It would be impossible, within our limits, to give even an outline of the cruelty and treachery of that detestable tribunal. Suffice it to say, that the object of suspicion was usually seized in the depth and darkness of the night, and torn from his family and friends, who were not permitted to know where he was to be conveyed. The wretched prisoner, when immured in these abodes of horror, was not informed who were his accusers, or even what was the crime with which he was charged. Torments, invented with a diabolical ingenuity, were then inflicted, without regard to sex or age, in order to extort confession, and at length, with every joint dislocated, and every nerve quivering, the poor victim was released from the dungeon, only to be burnt at the stake. To those who have ever read the soul-moving details, by which, in some instances, have been unmasked the hypocrisy and bloodthirstiness of this infernal society, the very name—Inquisition, will make the flesh creep,

and the heart recoil. What is she then? She is nothing. Where is the charity of those, who impose on the consciences of their adherents, the heavy burden and galling yoke of their own inventions, and that on pain of temporal punishment and eternal perdition? Where is the charity of those, who call for fire from heaven, and devote to endless misery the whole Christian world, because they follow not with them? Was it charity that laid the deep foundation, and reared the heaven-insulted battlements of the Inquisition? Did charity construct its black tribunal, inspire the infernal dissembling of its familiars, and produce its racks and its flames? Are the sighs and groans which, with feeble and melancholy reverberation, echo from dungeon to dungeon, and the shrieks which, issuing from the chamber of torture, pierce the ear and penetrate the heart, to be received as testimonials of the charity of the Church of Rome? Here, at least, charity shall perform her part, by drawing a veil over these insufferable enormities.

We know, from the most moderate calculations, founded upon authentic papers, and some data, that in Spain alone, from the year 1481, to the intrusion of Joseph Buonaparte, more than thirty thousand persons had been burnt by this tribunal; more than seventeen thousand burnt in effigy; more than two hundred and ninety thousand condemned to punishments short of death, but which involved utter ruin, and entailed perpetual infamy upon their families.

Of this prodigious number, by far the greater part suffered upon the charge of Judaism; it is within the mark to say, nineteen out of twenty. While this merciless and perpetual persecution was carried on thus actively, under the Catholic Kings of Spain, the Inquisition in Portugal was equally alert in the same Catholic pursuit. In the latter kingdom, there were Kings who would gladly have put a stop to these horrors, . . . one especially, whose name is deservedly dear in that country, Joan IV., in whom the rightful line was restored: but the Clergy and the Friars were too powerful.

The Popes might at any time have stopped this wickedness. At any time they might have put an end to the enormous evil, the unutterable cruelties, the incalculable sum of human suffer-

ings (sufferings, whereof the rack and the stake are the least part,) which the Holy Office were producing. If any misunderstanding or dispute arose concerning the asserted privileges of the Papacy, the Popes were ready to exert their power without delay: but when humanity was thus outraged, when religion was thus blasphemed and injured, when Christianity was thus perverted, and made an object of hatred and horror, they were silent; not a whisper of disapprobation was heard from the Vatican, which was wont to express its displeasure in thunder; not a breath came from the brazen Bulls, which had breathed fire against the Waldenses,* the Lollards, and the Protestants! The Popes acquiesced in these things; they suffered them to be done, to be approved, to be applauded, as the triumphs of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolical faith; they allowed the pictures of the victims in their sanbenitos, which had been displayed as part of the pageantry while those victims were in the flames, to be suspended as ornaments and trophies in the churches! Year after year, and generation after generation, the Inquisition immured its victims in solitary dungeons, stretched them on the rack, consumed at the stake for a holiday-spectacle, (for, horrible as it may seem, an auto-de-fe was considered as a festival!) and scattered their ashes upon the

* To animate the inquisitors in the perpetration of every species of cruelty against these unoffending Christians, Gregory wrote the following letter to these guardians of the triple crown; the directions given in which were, alas! but too implicitly followed by the fraternity connected with the holy office throughout Christendom:—"Since, therefore," says his Holiness, "according to the office enjoined us, we are bound to root out all offences from the kingdom of God, and, as much as in us lies, to oppose such beasts, (the Waldenses, and other heretics,) we deliver into your hands the sword of the word of God, which, according to the words of the Prophet Jeremiah, (xlviii. 10,) ye ought not to keep back from blood; but, inspired with a zeal for the Catholic faith, like Phineas, make diligent inquisition concerning these pestilent wretches, their believers, receivers, and abettors, and proceed against those who, by such inquisition, shall be found guilty, according to the canonical sanctions and our statutes, which we have lately published, to confound heretical pravity, calling in against them, if need be, the assistance of the secular arm."

winds and waters ! And this is one part of the conduct of the Popes towards the Jews. This is the protection which they who could have protected them, afforded ! The Popes could have prevented these things, but they permitted them ; a large portion of the guilt, therefore, is upon their heads, and the infamy is upon that Church,—that Roman Catholic Church, which, till this hour, has neither retracted the principle, nor expressed its contrition for the practice.

To Gregory succeeded, in 1241, Celestine IV., who, however, died within eighteen days after his elevation, and before the ceremony of his consecration had taken place. To him succeeded, after a lapse of two years, Innocent IV., who, regardless of the remonstrances of the Imperial deputies, and of their appeal to a future Pope and a future Council, pronounced sentence of deposition against Frederick, absolved all those who had sworn fealty to him, and threatened to excommunicate all such as would give him either succour or advice. His rapacity peculiarly dissatisfied the English Clergy, whom he plundered with reckless insolence and frequency.

In 1247, two persons of the Franciscan order, having been sent to England, to extort money for the Pope, Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln, opposed their demands with the greatest spirit. Nay, when Innocent ordered him to admit an Italian, totally ignorant of the English language, to a very rich benefice in his diocese, he decidedly refused to comply ; and though suspended from his functions by the incensed Pontiff, he treated the Papal mandate with contempt, and continued to discharge the duties of his office.

In 1253, Innocent was desirous of preferring his nephew, an Italian youth, to a rich benefice in the Cathedral of Lincoln ; and for this purpose, he, by letter, enjoined the Bishop to give him the first canonry that should be vacant, declaring that any other disposal of the canonry should be null and void, and that he would excommunicate any one that should dare to disobey his injunction. But Greathead, resolving not to comply, wrote to the Pontiff, in a strain which reflects the highest honor on his memory. “Next to the sin of antichrist,” says he, “nothing can be more contrary to the doctrine of Christ, than

to destroy men's souls, by defrauding them of the benefit of the pastoral office. Those who minister to their own carnal lusts, by means of the milk and wool of the sheep of Christ, and do not strive to promote the salvation of the flock, in the pastoral office, are guilty of destroying the souls of men. Two atrocious evils are committed in this way: they sin against God himself, who is essentially good, and also against the image of God in man, which, by the reception of his grace, becomes partaker of the divine nature. For the holy Apostolic See to be accessory to such wickedness, would be a monstrous abuse of power, and argue an entire separation from the glorious kingdom of Christ, and a participation with the two powers of darkness (meaning the devil and antichrist.) No man can obey such mandates with a good conscience, even though they were seconded by the high order of angels themselves. On the contrary, every faithful Christian ought to oppose them with all his might."

No sooner did this epistle reach Innocent, than, roused to the highest pitch of indignation, he exclaimed, "Who is this old dotard, that dares to judge my actions? By Peter and Paul, if I were not restrained by my generosity, I would make him an example, and a spectacle to all mankind. Is not the King of England my vassal and my slave? And if I gave the word, would he not throw him into prison, and load him with disgrace?" In vain did the Cardinals, who perceived the danger into which the Pontiff was about to plunge himself by his rashness, strive to moderate his resentment. Innocent immediately excommunicated Greathead, and appointed Albert, one of his Nuncios, to succeed him. Supported by a conviction of the rectitude of his conduct, the Bishop referred his appeal to the tribunal of Christ, and paid no regard to the decree; and so greatly was he respected, that the Papal mandate was universally neglected, and no attempts were made to deprive him of his office. Very soon after these transactions, Greathead died at Buckden; tidings of which were no sooner carried to Rome, than the Pope exclaimed, "I rejoice, and let every true son of the Church rejoice with me, that my great enemy is removed." He even ordered a letter to be writ-

ten to the King of England, requiring him to cause the Bishop's body to be taken up, and burned; but this letter was never sent. Preaching, at Lyons, before Innocent, in 1250, he unhesitatingly told the Pope, that bad shepherds, and the want of good ones, were the cause of the corruption of the Christian religion, of infidelity, of schism, of heresy, and of vicious manners throughout the world. They were not only dead in themselves, but were as fatal to the souls of others; they were robbers, and made the house of prayer a den of thieves. Avarice was their character, from the highest to the lowest, and they were never satisfied. Luxury, profligacy, incest, gluttony, and every species of flagitiousness and profanation, were in practice among them, and the fountain of all this depravity was the Roman Court. Their ignorance equalled their vices. Many did not know how to explain any one article of faith, or a single precept of the Decalogue, to the people. Many despised learning, and rejected knowledge; and those by chance possessing any, by involving themselves in worldly affairs, and by devoting themselves to their pleasures, forgot the little portion they had acquired. He portrays the Bishops as more distinguished for rapacity than religion.

Notwithstanding the antipathy of Matthew Paris to this Bishop, on account of the severity with which he treated the monastic orders, yet he is constrained to give Greathead the following honorable character:—"He never loved the world, which, on the contrary, was always to him as a place of banishment. He was the open reprover of my Lord the Pope, and of the King, as well as of the Prelates. He was the corrector of Monks, the director of Priests, the instructor of the Clergy, the patron of scholars, a preacher to the laity, the punisher of incontinence, the diligent investigator of various writings, and the scourge of lazy and selfish Romanists, whom he heartily despised. In regard to temporal concerns, he was liberal, copious, cheerful, polite, and affable; in spiritual things he was devout, humble, and contrite; in the execution of his episcopal office he was diligent, venerable, indefatigable."

To Innocent succeeded, in 1254, Renald, Bishop of Ostia,

known as Alexander IV., who, in consequence of the disturbances at Rome, removed to Viterbo, where he died, A.D. 1261. The rapacity of the Papal Legates had, at this time, become so truly shameful and oppressive, that Alexander enacted a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers; which, however, they continued to evade, through the influence of their friends at Rome.

Urban IV., who was now elected to the Pontificate, is little distinguished in history. He instituted the festival of *Corpus Christi*, the decree for the institution of which runs thus: "That this day properly appertains to the sacrament, *because there is no saint, who has not his proper festival!* That this is intended to confound the unbelief and extravagance of heretics, and to repair all the crimes of which men might be guilty in the other Masses." Urban also wrote an Historical Description of the Holy Land; and died, A.D. 1264. After some months, the Cardinals elected Gui Fulcodi, Bishop of Sabrino, as Clement IV., who had formerly been married, and brought up two daughters, but subsequently devoting himself to the Church, became Cardinal Bishop of Sabina. Clement did much for the aggrandizement of the Cardinals; on each of whom he conferred the title of Eminence, and marked out this high distinction by the appropriate emblem of a RED HAT; designed, as we are told, to show the readiness with which they were prepared to shed their blood for the liberty of the Church. He conferred the kingdom of Naples upon Charles of Anjou, brother to Louis IX., King of France. The consequences of this donation are well known, as is the fate of Conradin, the last descendant of Frederic II., who, after an unfortunate battle with Charles, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counsel, yet certainly with the consent, of the Roman Pontiff.

After the death of Clement IV., in 1268, the Roman See was vacant for nearly three years, owing to the intrigues of the Cardinals assembled at Viterbo, who all aspired to the dignity themselves, and opposed the election of any other.

At length the Magistrates, tired out with the delay, ordered them to be confined closely in the Bishop's palace, where they

were subjected to many inconveniences, and they began daily to lessen their allowance of provisions. The Cardinals ultimately, in 1272, chose Theobald, Viscount of Placentia, as Gregory X., who was, at that time, with the Crusaders in the East. As he had been an eye witness of the miserable condition of the Christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart as the desire of contributing to their relief; and immediately after his consecration, he summoned a Council at Lyons, in the year 1274, in which the relief and maintenance of the Christians in Palestine, and the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, were the two points that were to come principally under deliberation. This assembly was acknowledged as the fourteenth General Council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced by it into the manner of electing the Roman Pontiff, and more especially by the famous law, which is still in force, and by which it was enacted, that the Cardinal Electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the Pontificate. Gregory died soon after the termination of the Council, having held the Roman See four years and four months. During Gregory's Pontificate, Louis IX., King of France, distinguished himself by the noble opposition he made to the Papal encroachments; and in the year 1269, before he set out for the Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican Church against the insidious attempts of the Roman Pontiffs, by that famous edict, known in France by the name of the Pragmatic sanction.

Innocent V., who, in 1276, succeeded Gregory, was, before his exaltation, an eminent divine and diligent writer; he died soon after his consecration. Hadrian V., the successor of Innocent, died at Viterbo, before his consecration. Petro Juliani, formerly a learned Physician at Lisbon, succeeded Hadrian, as John XXI. He was killed by the roof of his apartment falling in upon him, A. D. 1277. After a delay of six months, Nicholas III. was elected. He was a great patron of the Franciscans.

From the ninth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the Pontiffs had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were vastly increased under

Innocent III. and Nicholas III., partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of Kings and Emperors. Innocent was no sooner seated in the Papal Chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the Præfect of Rome, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the Emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office : he also seized upon Ancona, Spoleto, Assisi, and several cities and fortresses, which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter. On the other hand, Frederick II., who was extremely desirous that the Pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV., loaded the Roman See with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the Pope's brother, but also permitted Richard, Count of Fundi, to leave by will all his possessions to the Roman See, and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made, during his Pontificate, in augmenting the splendor and wealth of the Church. Nicholas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy in refusing to crown the Emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman See, of which, if some were plausible, the greatest part were altogether groundless, or, at least, extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian Princes that were subject to the Emperor, were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicholas reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in Italy, that had formerly been annexed to the Imperial crown, particularly Romania and Bologna. It was, therefore, under these two Pontiffs that the See of Rome arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times.

To him succeeded, in 1281, Martin IV., a French Cardinal, through the intrigue of Charles, King of Sicily, under whose influence his whole conduct was regulated. He was not inferior

to Nicholas in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind. He died, A. D. 1285. Honorius IV. now filled the vacant See, but was, in no respect, distinguished either by talent or fortune. He was succeeded, A. D. 1288, by the Cardinal Bishop of Preneste, under the name of Nicholas IV., during whose Pontificate, the Holy Land, which had been rescued by the Crusaders from the Turks, was now irrecoverably lost. The death of Nicholas IV., in 1292, was followed by a vacancy of two years in the See of Rome, in consequence of the disputes that arose among the Cardinals about the election of a new Pope. These disputes were at length terminated, and the contending parties united their suffrages in favor of Peter, surnamed De Murrone, from a mountain where he had hitherto lived in the deepest solitude, and with the utmost austerity. This venerable old man, who was in high renown on account of the remarkable sanctity of his life and conversation, was raised to the Pontificate in the year 1294, and assumed the name of Celestine V.

Since the days of the First Gregory, no Pope had ever assumed the Pontifical dignity with more purity of intention. But he had not Gregory's talents for business and government; and the Roman See was immensely more corrupt in the thirteenth, than it was in the sixth century. Celestine soon became sensible of his incapacity; he was lost, as in a wilderness. He attempted to reform abuses, to retrench the luxury of the Clergy; to do, in short, what he found totally impracticable. He committed mistakes, and exposed himself to the ridicule of the scornful. His conscience was kept on the rack through a variety of scruples, from which he could not extricate himself; and from his ignorance of the world, and of the Canon law, he began to think he had done wrong in accepting the office. He spent much of his time in retirement, nor was he easy there, because his conscience told him that he ought to be discharging the pastoral office.

The austerity of his manners being a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman Court, and more especially upon the luxury of the Cardinals, he became extremely disagreeable

to a degenerate and licentious Clergy ; several of the Cardinals, therefore, particularly Benedict Caietan, advised him to abdicate the Papacy, which he had accepted with such reluctance ; and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility.

CHAPTER XVII.

STATE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN FAITH AND MORALS.

THE corruptions, doctrinal and practical, of the Roman Church were now at their height. Those writers who vindicate its infallibility, would willingly disbelieve or conceal their enormity ; and, indeed, that a system, in all things so unlike the religion of the Gospel, and so opposite to its spirit, should have been palmed upon the world, and established as Christianity, would be incredible, if the proofs were not undeniable and abundant.

That authority to which the Church could lay no claim for the purity of its members, it supported by its arrogant pretensions, availing itself of all notions, accidents, practices, and frauds from which any advantage could be derived, till the whole monstrous accumulation assumed a coherent form, which well deserves to be called “the Mystery of iniquity.” The Scriptures, even in the Latin version, had long become a sealed book to the people ; and the Roman See, in proportion as it extended its supremacy, discouraged or proscribed the use of such vernacular versions as existed. This it did, not lest the ignorant and half-informed should mistake the sense of Scripture, nor lest the presumptuous and the perverse should deduce new errors in doctrine, and more fatal consequences in practice, from its distorted language ; but in the

secret and sure consciousness, that what was now taught as Christianity, was not to be found in the written word of God. In maintenance of the dominant system, Tradition, or the unwritten word, was set up. This had been the artifice of the earliest heretics, who, when they were charged with holding doctrines not according to Scripture, affirmed that some things had been revealed which were not committed to writing, but were orally transmitted down. The Pharisees before pleaded the same supposititious authority for the formalities which they superadded to the law, and by which they sometimes superseded it, "making the word of God of none effect," as our Saviour himself reproached them. And upon this ground the Romish Clergy justified all the devices of man's imagination, with which they had corrupted the ritual and the faith of the Western Church.

At one time, relics, or entire bodies, used to be carried about the country, and exhibited to the credulous multitude; but this gainful practice gave occasion to such scandalous impostures, that it was at length suppressed; but what was still encouraged is sufficiently disgraceful to the Romanist.

The bodies of the Saints were at this time exposed in their churches, some dried and shrivelled, others reduced to skeletons, clothed either in religious habits, or in the gorgeous garments—a spectacle as ghastly, as the superstition itself is degrading! The poor fragments of mortality, a skull, a bone, or the fragment of a bone, a tooth, or a tongue, were either mounted or set, according to the size, in gold and silver, deposited in costliest shrines of the finest workmanship, and enriched with the most precious gems. Churches soon began to vie with each other in the number and variety of these imaginary treasures, which were sources of real wealth to their possessors. The instruments of our Saviour's crucifixion were shown, (the spear and the cross having, so it was pretended, been miraculously discovered,) the clothes wherein he was wrapt in infancy, the manger in which he was laid, the vessels in which he converted water into wine at the marriage-feast, the bread which he broke at the last supper, his vesture for which the soldiers cast lots. Such was the impudence of

Romish fraud, that portions were produced of the burning bush, of the manna which fell in the wilderness, of Moses's rod, and Samson's honeycomb, of Tobit's fish, of the Blessed Virgin's milk, and of our Saviour's blood! Enormous prices were paid by Sovereigns for such relics: it was deemed excusable, not to covet merely, but to steal them; and if the thieves were sometimes miraculously punished, they were quite as often enabled by miracle to effect the pious robbery, and bring the prize in triumph to the church for which it was designed. In the rivalry of deceit which the desire of gain occasioned, it often happened that the head of the same Saint was shown in several places, each church insisting that its own was genuine, and all appealing to miracles as the test. Sometimes the dispute was accommodated in a more satisfactory manner, by asserting a miraculous multiplication, and three whole bodies of one person have been shown; the dead Saint having tripled himself to terminate a dispute between three churches at his funeral! The catacombs at Rome were an inexhaustible mine of relics.*

With the reverence which was paid to relics, arising thus naturally at first, and converted, by crafty Priests, into a source

* The catacombs are highly interesting in the eye of the philosopher, as well as of the Christian. They are subterraneous passages, in which the Christians of the first ages buried the martyrs and their friends, and in which they themselves sometimes found an asylum against death, during the worst moments of the cruel persecutions to which they were exposed. They opened on either side of these passages cavities of the size required to admit the bodies which they had to deposit in them; and, after the insertion of the bodies, the openings were closed again with a white stone, on which were engraved the initials of the deceased, and the instruments of their martyrdom, together with a branch of palm.

The discoveries made here of the bodies of several Saints, known or supposed to be known, by these means, afford to the Roman Catholics no less satisfaction, and that of a more romantic nature, than those of mutilated statues among the ruins to the amateurs of the fine arts; nor is it necessary to be a Roman Catholic to feel deeply moved at the sight of these noble proofs of the constancy, courage, and independent spirit of those to whose perseverance we owe the greatest of all blessings,—a religion which teaches us to appeal from earthly power to Divine goodness,—and which, setting us free from the most inveterate, rooted

of lucre, Saint-worship grew up. If such virtue resided in their earthly and perishable remains, how great must be the power wherewith their beatified spirits were invested in heaven! The Greeks and Romans attributed less to their demi-gods, than the Catholic Church has done to those of its own members who have received their apotheosis. They were invoked, as mediators between God and man; individuals claimed the peculiar protection of those whose names they had received in baptism, and towns and kingdoms chose each their tutelary saint. But though every Saint was able to avert all dangers, and heal all maladies, each was supposed to exert his influence more particularly in some specific one, which was determined by the circumstances of his life, or martyrdom, the accidental analogy of a name, or by chance and custom, if these shadows of a cause were wanting. The virtue which they possessed they imparted to their images, in which, indeed, it was affirmed, that they were really and potentially present, partaking of ubiquity in their beatitude. Church vied with Church, and Convent with Convent, in the reputation of their wonder-working images, some of which were pretended to have been made without hands, and some to have descended from heaven! But the rivalry of the monastic orders was shown in the fictions, wherewith they filled the histories of their respective founders and worthies. No language can exaggerate the enormity of the falsehoods which were thus promulgated, nor the spirit of impious audacity in which they were conceived: yet some of the most monstrous, and most palpably false, received the full sanction of the Papal authority; the superstitions founded upon them were legitimated by Papal Bulls; and festivals, in commemoration of miracles which never happened,—nay, worse than this,—of the most blasphemous and flagitious impostors, were appointed in the Romish Kalender, where, at this day, they hold their place.

prejudices, raises us to that equality of rights, and to that spirit of universal charity, of which the ancients had not the slightest notion.

It is said that one may walk fifteen miles under ground in these catacombs, not indeed in a direct line, but through various passages cut in various directions.

While the monastic orders contended with each other in exaggerating the fame of their deified patriarchs, each claimed the Virgin Mary for its especial patroness. Some peculiar favor she had bestowed upon each. She had appointed their rule of life, or devised the pattern of their habit; or enjoined them some new practice of devotion, or granted them some singular privilege. She had espoused their founder with a ring, or fed him like a babe at her breast; * (it is fitting and necessary that this abominable system of imposture should be displayed;—and each of the popular orders had been assured by revelation, that the place in heaven for its departed members was under her skirts. All, therefore, united in elevating her to the highest rank in the mythology of the Romish Church, for so, in strict truth, must this enormous fable be designated. They traced her in types throughout the Old Testament; she was the tree of life; the ladder which Jacob had seen, leading from heaven to earth; the rod which brought forth buds and blossoms, and produced fruit; the ever burning bush; the ark of the covenant; the fleece upon which alone the dew of heaven descended.

Before all creatures and all ages, she was conceived in the Eternal Mind, and when the time appointed for her mortal manifestation was come, she, of all human kind alone, was pro-

* The records of the Romish Church are full of examples of the wildest enthusiasm, which are held forth to admiration, as the loftiest flights of piety and devotion. In those productions, we read nothing of a calm and settled confidence in God, of a consistent and habitual devotedness to his service, or of a cheerful and ready acquiescence in his will, whether revealed in the Scriptures, or indicated by the course of providence: but we find every page stuffed with visions and apparitions of the blessed Saviour, of the Virgin Mary, of Angels, and departed Saints. Sometimes Christ comes to crown them with a garland, or to present some token and memorial of his love; at others, with all the formalities of the nuptial ceremony, he espouses some seraphic sister of a convent. The blessed Virgin also, appears with the Saviour in her arms, as if he were still a child; and thus she visits the sick, dresses their wounds, administers medicine, and performs the meanest and most disgusting offices; and these fooleries are styled, the extacies of piety and love. O miserable substitute! O awful delusion!

duced without the taint of human frailty. And though, indeed, being subject to death, she paid the common tribute of mortality—yet, having been born without sin, she expired without suffering; and her most holy body, too pure a thing to see corruption, was translated immediately to heaven, there to be glorified. This had been presumed, because, had her remains existed upon earth, it was not to be believed but that so great a treasure would have been revealed to some or other of so many saints, who were worthy to have been made the means of enriching mankind by the discovery; and that all doubt might be removed, the fact was stated by the Virgin herself, to Saint Antonio. Her image was to be found in every church throughout Christendom; and she was worshipped under innumerable appellations,—devotees believing, that the one which they particularly affected, was that to which the object of their adoration most willingly inclined her ear.

As an example of the falsehoods by which this superstition was kept up, it may suffice to mention the brave legend of Loretto, where the house in which the Virgin lived at Nazareth is still shown, as having been carried there by four angels. The story of its arrival, and how it had been set down twice upon the way, and how it was ascertained to be the genuine house, both by miracles, and by the testimony of persons sent to examine the spot where it was originally built, and to measure the foundations,—received the sanction of successive Popes, and was printed in all languages, for pilgrims of every Christian nation, who were attracted thither by the celebrity of the shrine, and by the Indulgences promised to those who should visit it in devotion.

By such representations and fables, the belief of the people became so entirely corrupted, that Christ, instead of being regarded as our Mediator and Redeemer, appeared to them in the character of a jealous God, whom it behoved them to propitiate, through the mediation of his virgin Mother; for through him alone could mercy and salvation be obtained. The Pantheon, which Agrippa had dedicated to Jupiter and all the Gods, was, by the Pope, who converted it into a church, inscribed to the blessed Virgin, and all the Saints. Nor was it

in idolatry, polytheism, and creature-worship alone, that the resemblance was apparent between the religion of Pagan and Papal Rome. The Priests of the Roman church had gradually fallen into many of the rites and ceremonies of their heathen predecessors, profiting in some cases by what was useful; in others, not improperly, conforming to what was innocent, but in too many points culpably imitating pernicious and abominable usages. The incense which was employed in Christian churches, as profusely as it had been in honor of the discarded gods, was grateful, and perhaps salutary; the lamps, which burnt perpetually before the altar, an allowable mark of reverence to the place; the holy water, to be censured, not as symbolical in its use of that inward purification which is required, but for the purposes of gross superstition, to which it was so easily abused.

The consequences of this persuasion brought into full view the weakness and the strength of human nature. In some respects they degraded it below the beasts; in others, they elevated it almost above humanity. They produced at the same time, and in the same persons, the most intense selfishness and the most astonishing self-sacrifice;—so strangely were the noblest feelings and the vilest superstition blended in this corrupt and marvellous mixture of revealed truth, and the devices of man's insane imagination. The dearest and holiest ties of nature and society were set at nought, by those who believed that the way to secure their own salvation, was to take upon themselves the obligations of a monastic life. They regarded it as a merit to renounce all intercourse with their nearest friends and kin; and being by profession dead to the world, rendered themselves, by a moral suicide, dead in reality, to its duties and affections. For the sake of saving their own souls, or of attaining a higher seat in the kingdom of heaven, they sacrificed, without compunction, the feelings, and, as far as depended upon them, the welfare and happiness of wife, parent, or child: yet, when the conversion of others was to be promoted, these very persons were ready to encounter any danger, and to offer up their lives with exultation, as martyrs. The triumph of the will over the body, was, indeed, complete; but it tri-

umphed over the reason also ; and enthusiasts, in order to obtain heaven, spent their lives, not in doing good to others, but in inflicting the greatest possible quantity of discomfort and actual suffering upon themselves. In pursuance of this principle, practices not less extravagant than those of the Indian Yogues, and more loathsome, were regarded as sure indications of sanctity. It was deemed meritorious to disfigure the body by neglect and filth ; to attenuate it by fasting and watchfulness ; to lacerate it with stripes ; and to fret the wounds with cilices of horse-hair. Linen was proscribed among the monastic orders ; and the use of the warm bath, which, being not less conducive to health than to cleanliness, had become general in all the Roman provinces, ceased throughout Christendom, because, according to the morality of the monastic school, cleanliness itself was a luxury, and to procure it by pleasurable means, was a positive sin. The fanatics of Europe did not, indeed, like their predecessors in Syria and Egypt, cast off all clothing, and, by going on all-fours, reduce themselves to a likeness with beasts, as far as self-degradation could effect it, in form and appearance, as well as in their manner of life ; but they devised other means of debasing themselves, almost as effectual. There were some saints, who never washed themselves, and made it a point of conscience never to disturb the vermin, who were the proper accompaniments of such sanctity ; in as far as they occasioned pain while burrowing, or at pasture, they were increasing the stock of the aspirant's merits, that treasure which he was desirous of laying up in heaven : and he thought it unjust to deprive his little progeny of their present paradise, seeing they had no other to expect ! The act of eating they made an exercise of penance, by mingling whatever was most nauseous with their food ; and it would literally sicken the reader, were the victories here to be related which they achieved over the reluctant stomach, and which, with other details of sanctimonious nastiness, are recorded in innumerable Roman Catholic books, for edification and example. They bound chains round the body, which ate into the flesh ; or fastened graters upon the breast and back ; or girded themselves with bandages of bristles intermixed with points of wire. Cases

of horrid self-mutilation were sometimes discovered ; and many perished by a painful and lingering suicide, believing, that, in the torments which they inflicted upon themselves, they were offering an acceptable sacrifice to their Creator. Some became famous for the number of their daily genuflections ; others for immersing themselves to the neck in cold water, during winter, while they recited the Psalter. The English Saint, Simon Stock, obtained his name and his saintship, for passing many years in a hollow tree. St. Dominic, the Cuirasier, was distinguished for his iron dress, and for flogging himself with a scourge in each hand, day and night ; and the blessed Arnulph of Villars, in Brabant, immortalized himself by inventing, for his own use, an under waistcoat, of hedgehog skins, of which, it appears, five were required for the back, six for the front and sides.

There prevailed an opinion, industriously promoted by the priesthood, which was excellently adapted to this purpose. Heroic piety, such as that of the saints, was not indispensable for salvation ; the degree of faith and good works, without which a soul could not be saved, must be at a standard which all mankind can reach. This was not to be denied. There was a large and accumulating fund of good works, which, though supererogatory in the saints, were, nevertheless, not to be lost. But indeed, if strictly considered, all human merits were in this predicament. Atonement having once been made for all, good works, in those who entitled themselves to the benefit of the covenant, were needful only, as the evidence and fruits of a saving faith. There was, however, some use for them. The redemption, which had been purchased for fallen man, was from eternal punishment only ; sin was not, therefore, to go unpunished, even in repentant sinners, who had confessed and received absolution. The souls of baptized children, it was held, past immediately to heaven : but for all others, except the few who attained to eminent holiness in their lives, Purgatory was prepared ; a place, according to the popular belief, so near the region of everlasting torment, though separated from it, that the same fire pervaded both ; acting indeed to a different end, and in different degrees, but, even its mildest effect,

inflicting sufferings more intense than heart could think, or tongue express, and enduring for a length of time, which was left fearfully indefinite. Happily for mankind, the authority of the Pope extended over this dreadful place. The works of supererogation were at his disposal, and this treasury was inexhaustible, because it contained an immeasurable and infinite store derived from the atonement. One drop of the Redeemer's blood being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the rest, which had been shed during the passion, was given as a legacy, to be applied in mitigation of Purgatory, as the Popes in their wisdom might think fit. So they in their infallibility declared, and so the people believed! The Popes were liberal of this treasure. If they wished to promote a new practice of devotion, or encourage a particular shrine, they granted to those who should perform the one, or visit the other, an indulgence, that is, a dispensation for so many years of Purgatory; sometimes for shorter terms, but often by centuries, or thousands of years, and in many cases the indulgence was plenary,—a toll-ticket entitling the soul to pass scot free. All persons, however, could not perform pilgrimages; and even the accommodating device of the church, which promised large indulgences for saying certain prayers before the engraved portrait of a miraculous image, was liable, in numerous instances, to be frustrated. The picture might not find its way to remote places; the opportunity of acquiring it might be neglected, or it might remain in the possession of its unthinking owner, a forgotten thing. The Romish Church, in its infinite benevolence, considered this; and therefore, sold indulgences, making the act of purchasing them, and thus contributing to its wants, a merit of itself, sufficient to deserve so inestimable a reward. It was taught, also, that merits were transferable by gift or purchase: under this persuasion, large endowments were bestowed upon convents, on condition, that the donor should partake in the merits of the community, and few persons, who had any property at their own disposal, went out of the world without bequeathing some of it to the Clergy, for saying masses, in number proportioned to the amount of the bequest, for the benefit of their souls. The wealthy founded chantries, in which

service was to be performed, for ever, to this end. Thus were men taught to put their trust in riches. Their wealth, being thus invested, became available to them beyond the grave ; and whatever sins they indulged, provided they went through the proper forms, and obtained a discharge, they might purchase a free passage through Purgatory ; or, at least, an abbreviation of the term, and a mitigation of its torments, while they lasted. How severe these torments were to be, might, in some degree, be estimated by the scale appointed for those who were willing to commute, at a certain rate, while they were alive. The set-off for a single year was fixed at the recitation of thirty psalms, with an accompaniment of one hundred stripes to each ; the whole psalter, with its accompaniment of fifteen thousand, availing only to redeem five years. The chronicles of the middle ages are filled with horrible legends, invented to promote a superstition so profitable to the Priests : and that it might be the more deeply impressed upon the people, the representations of souls weltering in fire were exposed in churches, and in streets, and by the way-side ; fraternities were established to beg for them ; and to give money for their use is part of the penance which is usually, at this day, appointed by the Confessor. But purgatory was not the only invisible world over which the authority of the Church extended ; for to the Pope, as to the representative of St. Peter, it was pretended that the keys of heaven and hell were given ; a portion of this power was delegated to every Priest, and they inculcated, that the soul which departed without confession and absolution, bore with it the weight of its deadly sins, to sink it to perdition. This also was a practice of priestcraft, ingrafted upon a wholesome discipline, which had grown out of a just religious feeling. The primitive Christians, when their conscience smote them for their neglect of duty, or the commission of sin, used to take shame to themselves, by acknowledging the fault before God and man, in the face of the congregation. While they were a small community, each known to the others, this was no inconvenience ; but when numbers increased, and zeal abated, the confession was then made privately to the Priest alone ; and the Clergy so clearly perceived the influence which they de-

rived from this, that they soon insisted upon it as a peremptory duty, imperative upon all persons; and, according to the usual craft, they propagated a thousand tales of ghosts, who had visited earth, to reveal their horrible doom, for having left it unperformed. Of all practices of the Romish Church, this is the one which has proved most injurious; and if it be regarded in connexion with the celibacy of the Clergy, the cause will be apparent why the state of morals is generally so much more corrupt in Catholic, than in Protestant, countries. Tables were actually set forth, by authority, in which the rate of absolution for any imaginable crime, was fixed, and the most atrocious might be committed, with spiritual impunity, for a few shillings. The foulest murderer and parricide, if he escaped the hangman, might, at this price, set his conscience at ease concerning all further consequences.

The Church of Rome appears to have delighted in insulting as well as in abusing it, and to have pleased itself with discovering how far it was possible to subdue and degrade the human intellect, as an eastern despot measures his own greatness by the servile prostration of his subjects. If further proof than has already appeared were needful, it would be found in the prodigious doctrine of Transubstantiation. Strange as it may appear, the doctrine had become popular;—with the people, for its very extravagance;—with the Clergy, because they grounded upon it their loftiest pretensions. For if there were in the sacrament, this actual and entire sole presence, which they denoted by the term of transubstantiation, it followed that divine worship was something more than a service of prayer and thanksgiving; an actual sacrifice was performed in it, wherein they affirmed the Saviour was again offered up, in the same body which had suffered on the cross, by their hands. The Priest, when he performed this stupendous function of his ministry, had before his eyes, and held in his hands, the Maker of heaven and earth; and the inference which they deduced from so blasphemous an assumption was, that the Clergy were not to be subject to any secular authority, seeing that they could create God, their Creator! Let it not be supposed that the statement is in the slightest part ex-

aggerated, it is delivered faithfully in their own words. If such then were the power of the Clergy, even of the meanest Priest, what must be attributed to their earthly head, the successor of St. Peter? They claimed for him a plenitude of power; and it has been seen that he exercised it over the Princes of Christendom in its fullest meaning. According to the Canons, the Pope was as far above all Kings, as the sun is greater than the moon. He was King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, though he subscribed himself the Servant of servants. His power it was which was intended, when it was said to the Prophet Jeremiah, "Behold, I have this day set thee over the nations and the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant." It was an incomprehensible and infinite power, because "great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end." The immediate and sole rule of the whole world belonged to him, by natural, moral, and divine right; all authority depending upon him. As supreme King, he might impose taxes upon all Christians; and the Popes declared it was to be held, as a point necessary to salvation, that every human creature is subject to the Roman Pontiff. That he might lawfully depose kings was averred to be so certain a doctrine, that it could only be denied by madmen, or through the instigation of the devil; it was more pernicious and intolerable to deny it, than to err concerning the Sacraments. And, indeed, God would not have sufficiently provided for the preservation of his Church, and the safety of souls, if he had not appointed this power of depriving or restraining Apostolic Princes. All nations and kingdoms were under the Pope's jurisdiction, for to him God had delivered over the power and dominion in heaven and earth. Nay, he might take away kingdoms and empires, with or without cause, and give them to whom he pleased, though the sovereign whom he should depose, were, in every respect, not merely blameless, but meritorious: it was reason enough for the change, that the Pope deemed it convenient. The Spouse of the Church was Vice-God: men were commanded to bow at his name, as at the name of Christ; the proudest sovereigns waited upon him like menials, led his horse

by the bridle, and held his stirrup while he alighted; and there were ambassadors, who prostrated themselves before him, saying, “O thou, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!”

The advocates of the Papal power, proclaimed, that any secular laws which might be passed against a decree of the Roman Pontiff, were in themselves null and void; and that all Pontifical decrees ought for ever to be observed by all men, like the word of God, to be received as if they came from the mouth of St. Peter himself, and held like canonical Scripture. Neither the Catholic faith, nor the four Evangelists, could avail those who rejected them, this being a sin which was never to be remitted. Christ had bestowed upon the Pope, when he spake as such, the same infallibility which resided in himself. And were he utterly to neglect his duty, and by his misconduct drag down innumerable souls to hell with him, there to be eternally tormented, no mortal man might presume to reprove him for his faults. Even this monstrous proposition was advanced, that although the Catholic faith teaches all virtue to be good, and all vice evil; nevertheless, if the Pope, through error, should enjoin vices to be committed, and prohibit virtues, the Church would be bound to believe, that vices were good, and virtues evil, and would sin in conscience, were it to believe otherwise. He could change the nature of things, and make injustice, justice. Nor was it possible, that he should be amenable to any secular power, for he had been called God by Constantine, and God was not to be judged by man: under God, the salvation of all the faithful depended on him; and commentators even gave him the blasphemous appellation of our Lord God the Pope! It was disputed in the schools, whether he could not abrogate what the Apostles had enjoined, determine an opinion contrary to theirs, and add a new article to the creed; whether he did not, as God, participate both natures with Christ; and whether he were not more merciful than Christ, inasmuch as he delivered souls from the pains of Purgatory, whereas we did not read that this had ever been done by our Saviour. Lastly, it was affirmed, that he might do things unlawful, and thus he could do more than God.

All this was certain, because the Church was infallible. Where this infallibility resided, the Romanists have differed among themselves, some vesting it in the Pope, others requiring the concurrence of a General Council. Infallible, however, it was determined that the Roman Catholic Church must be, and thus the Key-stone was put to this prodigious structure of imposture and wickedness.

The whole history of the Popes proves that, as they had no object but earthly aggrandisement, so they adopted no principles, and pursued no methods, but those which were as congenial to that object, as they were contradictory to their professions of humility and benevolence. When prompted to war by passion and pride, war was instigated or proclaimed; when war was no longer prosperous, peace was negotiated; if the effusion of human blood was demanded by the Papal interests, human blood was shed; when those interests changed their aspect and relations, then blood ceased to flow

CHAPTER XVIII.

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER.

THE decline of this iniquitous and injurious power, like its progress, has been gradual and almost imperceptible. The commencement of this important change, may be dated from the quarrel between the French King, and Benedict Caietan, who, after persuading Celestine V. to resign, was advanced to the Pontificate by the title of Boniface VIII., A. D. 1294. The beginning of the following year he was enthroned at Rome with great solemnity and parade; in the procession from St. Peter's, where he was consecrated and crowned, to the Lateran, for the purpose of being enthroned, he was mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned, with the crown on his head, whilst the King of Apulia held the bridle in his right hand, and the King of Hungary, in the left, both on foot. His subsequent conduct corresponded to the haughty grandeur of his installation. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal; terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls; called princes and sovereign states before his tribunal, to decide their quarrels; augmented the Papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws; declared war against the family of Colonna, who disputed his title to the Pontificate; in a word, exhibited to the world a lively image of the tyrannical administration of Gregory VII., whom he surpassed in arrogance. Boniface added to the public rites and ceremonies of the Church, the famous Jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence.* In the Bull issued on this

* This is evidently an imitation of the Roman secular games, which were exhibited every hundredth year in honor of the Gods; they drew vast numbers of people to Rome from all parts. Boniface, recollecting this, determined to institute something of the same sort, which would immortalize his own name, and promote the interest of the Popish reli-

occasion, it was enacted as a solemn law of the Church, that those who, every hundredth year, confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of contrition and repentance, the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, at Rome, should obtain thereby the remission of their various offences. As this jubilee added to the splendor, and augmented the revenues of the Church, later Popes have rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every twenty-fifth year.* The most important event, however, which transpired during this Pontificate, was the contest with Philip the Fair, to which we have already alluded. This Prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe, that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the Bishop of Rome, although many crowned heads had attempted it without success. Boniface sent Philip the haughtiest letters imaginable, in which he asserted, that the King of France, and all other Kings and Princes, were obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the Popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. "I do give you to know," said his Holiness, "that you are our subject, both in spirituals and temporals." The King answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost con-

gion in general, and that of the city of Rome in particular. The Jubilee drew a great concourse of wealthy sinners to Rome; and the extraordinary circulation of money it occasioned, was strongly felt as beneficial all over the Pope's dominions.

* On an application to this Pope, by the Franciscans, offering him forty thousand ducats of gold, and a prodigious quantity of silver, if he would enable them, by his bull, to become the purchasers of estates, and to live like the other orders; when the Pope inquired whether their money was ready, they answered that it was, and lodged it in the banker's hands. Upon this he ordered them to withdraw and return in three days for his answer. In the mean time, he sent to the bankers, absolved them from their obligation to restore the money to the Monks, and charged them, under pain of excommunication, to reserve it for the use of the Roman See. When the Franciscans returned on the day appointed, in expectation of their diploma, the Pope told them, that he found upon consideration, it was advisable to dispence with St. Francis's mite, and therefore they must of necessity continue under their first engagements, to live without property.

tempt. "We give your foolship to know," replied the King, "that in temporals, we are subject to no person." The Pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in the famous Bull, *Unam Sanctam*, which he published A.D. 1302, asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a twofold power to his Church, or, in other words, the spiritual and temporal sword; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and that all who dared to dispute it, were to be deemed heretics, and excluded from all possibility of salvation. *Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creature declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis.* Irritated by the insolence of the Pontiff, Philip caused him to be apprehended in his own states, by a few soldiers under the conduct of the Chancellor Nogaret; who having obtained powerful assistance, succeeded in laying hold of Boniface, who resided in perfect security at Anagni, and as soon as he had him in his power, he treated him in the most indignant manner, carrying his resentment so far, as to wound him in the head, by a blow with his own gauntlet; the inhabitants of Anagni, however, rescued the unfortunate Pontiff from the hands of his fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to Rome, but Boniface soon after died of an illness, occasioned by the usage and anguish into which these insults had precipitated him.

It would appear that the Papal authority, though manifesting outwardly more show of strength every year, had been secretly undermined, and lost a great deal of its hold upon public opinion before the accession of Boniface VIII., in 1294, to the Pontifical Throne. The Clergy were rendered sullen by demands of money, invasions of the legal right of patronage, and unreasonable partiality to the mendicant orders; a part of the mendicants themselves had begun to declaim against the corruptions of the Papal Court, while the laity, subjects and sovereigns alike, looked upon both the head and the members of the hierarchy with jealousy and dislike. Boniface, full of inordinate arrogance and ambition, and not sufficiently sensible of this gradual change in human opinion, endeavoured to strain to a higher pitch, the despotic pretensions of former Pontiffs.

As Gregory VII. seems the most usurping of mankind, till we read the history of Innocent III.; so Innocent III. is thrown into the shade, by the superior audacity of Boniface VIII.

Benedict XI., who succeeded in 1304, (and whose name, before his accession to the Papal Chair, was Nicolas Boccacini,) learned prudence by the fatal example of his predecessor, Boniface, and pursued more moderate and gentle measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication that had been thundered against the King of France, and his dominions. Benedict died, A. D. 1304; upon which, Philip, by his artful intrigues in the Conclave, obtained the See of Rome for Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity on the 5th June, 1305. Bertrand assumed the name of Clement V., and, at the King's request, remained in France, and removed the Papal residence to Avignon, where it continued during the space of seventy years.

Having, now, in his own dominions, a Pontiff devoted to his interests, Philip unceasingly pressed Clement to condemn the memory of Boniface, and Nogaret preferred against him several articles of accusation, which he substantiated by respectable authority. To condemn the decisions of an *infallible* head of the Church, was a difficulty of no small magnitude to one of his successors, and Clement studiously endeavoured to delay the proceedings; but, perceiving the determined spirit of the King, he, at length, by a Bull, condemned and revoked all the obnoxious decrees of Boniface, against the Monarch or the kingdom of France.

There is no doubt that the continued residence of the Popes in France, greatly impaired the authority of the Roman See. The French Pontiffs, finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by sedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpose, they not only sold Indulgences to the people more frequently than they had formerly done, whereby they made themselves extremely odious to several Potentates, but also disposed, publicly, of scandalous licenses of all sorts, at an

excessive price. John XXI., who, in 1316, succeeded Clement, was remarkably shrewd and zealous in promoting this abominable traffic ; for though he was not the first inventor of the taxes and rules of the Apostolical Chancery, the Romish writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extensively profitable to the Holy Treasury. It is certain, however, that the origin of the tribute paid to the Popes, under the name of Annates, (a tax which is generally affirmed to have been first imposed by him,) is of a much earlier date. Besides the abuses now mentioned, these Gallic Popes having abolished the right of election, arrogated to themselves a power of conferring all the offices of the Church, whether great or small, according to their fancy, by which they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also under their government that reserves, provisions, expectatives, and other impositions of the like odious nature, which had seldom, if ever, been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all Europe with bitter complaints.

During this Pontificate, Italy was divided into factions, in consequence of the pretensions of Louis, Duke of Bavaria, and Frederick, King of Austria, to the Imperial Throne. The majority of the electors being favourable to Louis, that Prince applied to John, to confirm his election ; but because he had dared to exercise the imperial authority, without waiting for the confirmation of his Holiness, John excommunicated him, and all his adherents, accusing him of favouring heretics, in defiance of the Church. The irritated Emperor retorted the accusation, and charged the Pope with being the instigator of the disturbances in Germany and Italy, and an invader of the rights of Princes. In vain did John reiterate the sentence of excommunication ; Louis entered Italy, and attached a considerable part of that country to his interest. He also published an edict at Rome, by which John was declared unworthy of the Pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies, Peter de Corbieri, a Franciscan Monk, who assumed the name of Nicolas V., and crowned the Emperor at Rome, in a solemn and public manner. But in the year 1330, this Imperial Pope voluntarily abdicated

the Chair of St. Peter, and surrendered himself to John, who kept him in close confinement, at Avignon, for the rest of his days. Notwithstanding, however, this success, the successors of John were equally hostile to the claims of the Emperor; and so prevalent was the reign of superstition, that Louis was, at length, obliged to renounce the imperial dignity.

In 1319, John ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out, to transport an army of pious adventurers into Palestine, and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of Indulgences, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprise. These Indulgences he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed Legates to administer them, in all the countries in Europe that were subject to his ghostly jurisdiction. But, under this fair show of piety and zeal, John is supposed to have covered the most selfish and grovelling views; and we find Louis of Bavaria, who was at that time Emperor, and several other Princes, complaining loudly, that this Pontiff made use of the Holy War as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition; and, indeed, the character of this Pope was such as to countenance to such complaints. John had a tolerable share of learning; but was, at the same time, crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous. He is deservedly censured on account of his temerity, and the ill success that attended him, through his own imprudence, in many of his enterprises. He died at Avignon, in 1334.

Benedict XII., a man of great probity, who was neither chargeable with that avarice nor that ambition, that dishonored so many of his predecessors, was now elected to the vacant See. He put an end to the Papal quarrel with the Emperor Louis, and though he did not restore him to the communion of the Church, because prevented, as it is said, by the King of France, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He carefully attended to the grievances of the Church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the Mendicant, or more opulent Orders, and died, in the year 1342, while he was laying the most noble schemes for pro-

moting a yet more extensive reformation. In short, if we overlook his superstition, the prevailing blemish of this barbarous age, it must be allowed that he was a man of integrity and merit.

Benedict was succeeded, in 1342, by Peter Roger, who assumed the name of Clement VI. The character of this Pontiff may be inferred from the Bull of Anathema, issued against the Emperor Louis, of Bavaria, in which he thus expresses himself:—"May God strike him with imbecility and madness. May Heaven overwhelm him with its thunders. May the anger of God, with that of St. Peter and St. Paul, fall upon him in this world, and in the next. May the whole universe revolt against him; may the earth swallow him up alive; may his name perish from the earliest generations, and may his memory disappear. May all the elements be adverse to him. May his children, delivered into the hands of his enemies, be crushed before the eyes of their father," &c.

The doctrine of Indulgences received its first Pontifical enactment from this Pope; and it was impossible for human avarice or acuteness to have invented a more unlimited or inexhaustible organ of voluntary revenue. It was formed at once, to last as long as the world, and to be applicable to every individual who should inhabit it; it therefore came boldly forward, with universality and immortality stamped upon its existence.

On this important subject, it may be right to present the reader with the Pope's own words, from his Decretalia. It is the Bull UNIGENITUS. After reciting our Saviour's incarnation, it proceeds:—"He acquired a treasure for his Church militant, wishing to lay up one for his children; which treasure he did not wrap up in a napkin, nor hide in the ground; but he committed it, to be dispensed salubriously to the faithful, by St. Peter, the key-bearer of heaven, and by his successors, the Vicars on earth; and for pious and reasonable causes to be mercifully applied, generally and specially, now for a total, now for a partial, remission of the '*pœnæ temporales*,' due for past deeds. To the amount of this treasure, the merits of the blessed Virgin, and of all the elect, from the first just

person to the last, are known to afford their aid; nor should there be any fear whatever of its consumption or diminution, as well from the infinite merits of Christ, as, because the more that are drawn by it to righteousness, so much the more will the accumulation be augmented by their merits also." Such are the statements of an *infallible authority*; but which are not only unsupported by Scripture, but in direct contradiction to its whole tenor, and positive declarations. How dreadfully awful are the responsibility and guilt of those who thus add to the Sacred Volume doctrines which are equally dishonoring to God, and fatal to the peace and eternal salvation of those who embrace them.

The absence of the Popes from Rome having created serious discontent in the states of the Church, Clement, with the hope of allaying the murmurs of the people, reduced the period intervening between the jubilees to fifty years. He died in 1352, leaving a very indifferent character as a man of gallantry, intolerable pride, and extravagant desires for the aggrandizement of his family.

Innocent VI., the successor, in 1352, of Clement, whose name was Stephen Albert, by birth a Frenchman, and Bishop of Ostia, was a man of moderation and integrity. He attempted the correction of many abuses, abolished the heavy impositions laid upon the Clergy, when preferred to any new benefice or dignity. Contenting himself with a very moderate establishment, he retrenched all the unnecessary expenses of the Papal Court, and obliged the Cardinals to follow his example, and to bestow the superabundance of their wealth in relieving the necessities of the poor.

To Innocent succeeded Urban V., in 1362, who is said to have been the first who wore the triple crown, or tiara. Nicholas I., elected in 858, had first assumed a diadem, as the mark of sovereign power; which Boniface VIII. made into two crowns, representing the conjoined spiritual and temporal authority. Urban's reign would, like that of many of the Popes, be undistinguished, were it not for his claim on Edward III., of England, for some acknowledgment of his dependence on the Roman See, which led, in its results, to events of

unforeseen importance, involving the interests, not of the See of Rome only, but of the whole Christian world.

The manifold and complicated evils of Popery had now reached their highest pitch. Rapin's picture of the state of the Church at this time, is truly melancholy. "The Christian Church had never before been in so deplorable a state. God's mercy and justice, and Christ's meritorious death, were scarce any more the objects of a Christian's faith. Most people's religion consisted in pilgrimages, and the worship of the Blessed Virgin, Saints, and Relics. As for the Clergy, their whole care was confined to the supporting themselves in that height of grandeur and power they had enjoyed for several centuries, and to the seeing that no man presumed to dispute their immunities. Discipline was never more remiss; the Clergy seemed to look upon their spiritual power and jurisdiction only as a means to prevent the violation of their temporal privileges: provided their rights were untouched, every one might do what seemed good in his own eyes. The authority of the Church was become the capital point in religion. It was not only over spirituals that the Popes had stretched their authority; they pretended also to extend it over temporals, under color that religion was concerned in all its affairs. Rome and Avignon were the centre of pride, avarice, luxury, and sensuality, and all the most scandalous vices. The Popes were neither learned nor religious. Hardly was there one to be found, that might pass for an honest man, even according to the maxims of the world: this is no aggravation, for the authors who wrote before the Reformation, have said a hundred times more; nay, it has even been publicly preached before the Councils. The Legates, sent to the several states of Christendom, were so many incendiaries, who only sought to sow discord and division among Princes, or to excite them to shed the blood of their own subjects: they regarded only the interest of their own master, and the Roman See, making no conscience to violate all the rules of religion and equity to accomplish their ends. The rest of the Clergy, in general, were not better. As for real learning, it was scarce heard of in this country: *England*, with regard to religion, was in the same condition with the rest of Europe."

At this period, the whole of the government of England appeared to have been drawn under the magic influence of this astonishing system of spiritual tyranny. The Pope's Legate, haughtily spurning at all law and equity, made even the ministers of justice to tremble at its tribunal. Parliaments were over-awed, and Sovereigns obliged to temporise, while the lawless Ecclesiastic, entrenched behind the authority of Councils and Decrees, set at nought the civil power, and opened an asylum to any, even the most profligate, disturbers of society. In the mean time, the taxes collected, under various pretexts, by the agents of the See of Rome, amounted to five times as much as the taxes paid to the King. The insatiable avarice and insupportable tyranny of the Court of Rome, had given such universal disgust, that a bold attack, made about this time, on the authority of that Court, and the doctrines of the Church, was, at first, more successful, than could have been expected in that dark and superstitious age. This attack was made by the famous John Wickliff, who was one of the best and most learned men of the age in which he flourished. His reputation for learning, piety, and virtue, was so great, that Archbishop Islep appointed him First Warden of Canterbury College, Oxford, in 1365. The Lectures in Divinity which he read in that University, were much admired, though, in those lectures, he treated the Clergy, and particularly the Mendicant Friars, with no little freedom and severity. A discourse which he published against the Pope's demand of homage and tribute from Edward III., for England, recommended him so much to that Prince, that he bestowed upon him several benefices, and employed him in several embassies. Edward III. had refused that homage to which King John had subjected his successors, and Urban V. threatened, that if it were not performed, he would cite him to Rome, there to answer for the default. A Sovereign of Edward's ability and renown was not thus to be intimidated: the feeling of the country was with him; and the Parliament affirming that what John had done in this matter, was a violation of his coronation-oath, declared, that if the Pope proceeded in any way against the King, he and all his subjects should resist him. The Papal claims were

defended by a Monk, who ventured to challenge Wickliff upon the subject, who coming forward with superior ability, and in a better cause, produced a conclusive reply; in reward for which, when an appeal concerning the Wardenship was decided against him, he was appointed Professor of Divinity, and, as a further mark of favor, the living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, was given him. Two years after his appointment to the Divinity Chair, he was named, with other ambassadors, to meet the Pope's representative at Bruges, and resist his pretensions to the presentation of benefices in England, an injurious practice, against which several statutes had been past. The negotiation lasted nearly two years, and it is probable that what he then had opportunities of discovering, convinced him that the system of the Papal Court, and its doctrines, were equally corrupt; for on his return, he attacked it in the boldest manner, maintained that the Scriptures contained all truths necessary to salvation, and that the perfect rule of Christian practice was to be found in them only; denied the authority of the Pope in temporal matters; proclaimed that he was that man of sin, that son of perdition, whom St. Paul prophetically describes, "sitting as God in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God," and denounced him as Antichrist. These opinions he openly preached and published, appealing to the Scriptures for their truth; and they were propagated by his disciples, who attacked the Friars in their own manner, preaching to the people, and going about, as he himself did, barefoot, and in plain frieze gowns.

The character and conduct of his disciples at this time, are thus described by a Romish Inquisitor of those days, named Rheinher. "The disciples of Wickliff are men of a serious, modest deportment; avoiding all ostentation in dress, mixing little with the busy world, and complaining of the debauchery of mankind. They maintain themselves wholly by their own labour, and utterly despise wealth, being fully content with bare necessities. They follow no traffic, because it is attended with so much lying, swearing, and cheating. They are chaste and temperate; are never seen in taverns, or amused by the trifling gaieties of life. You find them always employed;

either learning or teaching. They are concise and devout in their prayers ; blaming an unlimited prolixity. They never swear ; speak little, and in their public preaching they lay the chief stress on charity. They never mind canonical hours, because, they say, that a paternoster or two, repeated with devotion, is better than tedious hours spent without devotion. They explain the Scriptures in a different way from the holy Doctors and Church of Rome. They speak little and humbly, and are well behaved in appearance."

A Proclamation was now issued against all persons who should teach or maintain these opinions, or possess any of the books and pamphlets written by Wickliff and his followers. Many suffered imprisonment, and were required to do penance under the most degrading circumstances ; although it does not appear that they were actually put to death, during this reign. This may be partly ascribed to the power and influence of the Duke of Lancaster, who was the great patron of Wickliff ; and of Queen Ann, the consort of Richard II., and sister of the King of Bohemia, who imbibed, valued, and befriended the opinions of Wickliff, whom she survived but ten years. One of her countrymen, having studied at Oxford, and learnt the new doctrines, took the writings of this illustrious censor with him, when he returned to Bohemia ; by which means a knowledge of them was introduced into the University of Prague, then recently founded, where several thousand scholars were studying.

It was not long before Wickliff himself was accused of heresy, and no fewer than five Bulls were dispatched from Rome, with orders to Sudbury, the Primate, and Courtney, the Bishop of London, to have him arrested, and kept in close custody, till they should receive further instructions. But the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, who was then governing the kingdom during the latter days of his father, protected him with a high hand ; and he was still so popular in Oxford, that when a Nuncio was sent thither, requiring the University, under pain of the severest penalties, to deliver him up to justice, the threats were disregarded. The Archbishop, finding it impossible to proceed in the summary manner which the

Pope ordered, summoned him to appear, within thirty days, before him and the Bishop of London, at St. Paul's; and Wickliff, confident in his cause and in his protectors, did not hesitate to obey the citation. On the day appointed, he had the honor of being accompanied by the Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, Earl Marshall of England. Some angry discussions having taken place between the Duke and the Bishop of London, a violent tumult arose in the Court, so that it broke up in great confusion, without doing any business. Wickliff made a second appearance before the Papal Commissioners at Lambeth, at which he delivered in a written explanation of the points upon which the charges of heresy against him were founded. The strength of his defence, however, would have availed him little, if Sir Lewis Clifford had not entered with orders from the King, forbidding them to proceed further in the business; but it is not likely that any protection could long have upheld him against the ecclesiastical authority, had not a schism occurred at this juncture, to weaken the Papal power, and shake its very foundations. Wickliff seized the opportunity, and published a tract upon the schism, exposing the absurdity of ascribing infallibility to a divided Church. He published also, at this time, a treatise on the truth of Scripture; and that his countrymen might be enabled to try his doctrines by that test, he translated both the Old and New Testaments into the English tongue. The Romish Clergy loudly objected to this proceeding; and the following curious specimen is given of the manner in which the Ecclesiastics of this day reasoned on this subject:—"Christ," says one of them, "committed the Gospel to the Clergy and Doctors of the Church, that they might minister it to the laity and weaker persons, according as the times and people's wants might require; but this Master John Wickliff translated it out of Latin into English, and by that means laid it more open to the laity, and to women who could read, than it used to be to the most learned of the Clergy, and those of them who had the best understanding. And so the Gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under swine; and that which used to be precious to both Clergy and laity, is made, as it were, the common jest of

both ; and the jewel of the Church is turned into the sport of the laity."

While the doctrines of Wickliff were propagated and opposed with much zeal at Oxford and other places, he, being in a declining state of health, resided during the last two years of his life, at his living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, employed in finishing his translation of the Bible,* and other works. About this period, when Urban VI. endeavoured to raise men and money in England, for a Crusade against his rival Pope, Wickliff wrote against the wickedness of exciting war in Christendom, upon a dispute between two false Priests ; in which he insisted on the identity of the Pope with Anti-christ.

Being seized with a stroke of the palsy, which deprived him of his speech, December 28, 1385, he expired on the last day of that year.—"Wickliff," says Mr. Southey, "held some erroneous opinions, some fantastic ones, but considering the intrepidity and ardor of his mind, it is surprising that his errors were not more and greater. A great and admirable man he was ; his fame, high as it is, is not above his deserts ; and it suffers no abatement upon comparison with the most illustrious of those who have followed in the path which he opened."

Nothing is more natural than to suppose that there might be some mixture of what was exceptionable in his opinions, considering the early period in which he lived, the unimproved state of all religious and useful learning, and the newness of the ground on which he stood against such a host of formidable adversaries. But the vigor of his mind, in seizing the great

* The use of this Version was, for a short time, permitted by law : it must, however, have been very limited, as the art of printing was then unknown, and few persons had means sufficient to purchase a written copy. From the Register of Alnwich, Bishop of Norwich, it appears that a Testament of Wickliff's version cost, in the year 1429, four Marks and forty Pence, or £2. 16s. 8d. (equal to more than £20. of our present money.) A large sum in those days, when £5. was considered sufficient for the annual maintenance of a respectable tradesman, or a yeoman, or one of the inferior Clergy.

principles on which the Reformation, in its maturer state, afterwards proceeded; and the courage with which he dared at that time to maintain them, place him in the highest rank of merit among the Reformers, and entitle him to the gratitude and respect of all Protestant posterity.

The Council of Constance, held A. D. 1415, by whose execrable sentence Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt alive, condemned Wickliff also as an heretic, and ordered that his remains, if they could be discerned from the bodies of other faithful people, should be dug up, and consumed by fire. Accordingly, by order of Fleming, then Bishop of Lincoln, as Diocesan of Lutterworth, his grave, which was in the chancel of the church, was opened forty years after his death, the bones were taken out, and burnt to ashes, and the ashes thrown into a neighbouring brook, called the Swift. "This brook," says Fuller, "conveyed his ashes into Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wickliff are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over." "So," says Fox, "was he resolved into three elements—earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever. But as there is no counsel against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of verity; it will spring, and come out of dust and ashes—as appeared right well in this man; for though they digged up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God, and truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn. These to this day remain."

The invention of printing had, at this time, created facilities for the diffusion of knowledge, unknown before;* and the struggle between the elements of darkness and the principles of

* Fox has well observed, "that at a time when all the Christian world was brought under the dominion of the Church of Rome; when deliverance seemed not only past the power, but also the hope of man; in this very time, so dangerous and desperate, when man's power could do no more, then the blessed wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his Church, not with human power, or weapons, but with

light, resembled, for a while, the smothering vapour which precedes the burst and the radiance of a clear and steady flame. Thousands were prepared, by these antecedent causes, to receive the truth in all its holy purity, and sacred influence. Already the rays of truth were emanating from the Sacred Volume in all directions; and men were beginning to start, as from the slumbers of a dream, or the reveries of a distempered imagination.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GREAT SCHISM.

GREGORY XI., nephew to Pope Clement VI., succeeded to the vacant Chair in 1370. Though inferior to his predecessors in virtue, he, nevertheless, exceeded them in courage and assurance. In his time, Italy in general, and the city of Rome in particular, was distressed with the most outrageous and formidable tumults. The Florentines carried on successfully a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state; upon which, Gregory, in hopes of quieting the disorders of Italy, and also of

printing, writing, and reading, to dispel darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. Wherefore," he afterwards adds, "I suppose the Pope must abolish printing, or else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. Though he stopped the mouth of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, and others, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, in their stead, God hath found the press to preach, whose voice the Pope can never be able to stop, with all the power of his triple crown. By printing, as by the gift of tongues, and a special instrument of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospel is sent to all nations and countries under heaven; and what God revealed to one man is dispersed to many; and what is open to one nation, is open to all."

recovering the cities and territories which had been taken from St. Peter's patrimony, transferred the Papal seat from Avignon to Rome, in the year 1376. To this, he was in a great measure determined by the advice of one Catharine, a virgin of Sens, who, in this credulous age, was thought to be inspired with the spirit of prophecy, and made a journey to Avignon, on purpose to persuade him to take this step. It was not, however, long before Gregory repented that he had followed her advice; for, by the long absence of the Popes from Italy, their authority was reduced to such a low ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to Avignon; but, before he could execute his determination, he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

The Cardinals were assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of Rome, unwilling that the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the Conclave, and with clamors, accompanied with outrageous menaces, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the Popedom. The Cardinals, terrified at this uproar, immediately proclaimed Bartholomew de Pregnans, who was a Neapolitan, and Archbishop of Bari, and assumed the name of Urban VI. This new Pontiff, by his impolitic behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had entailed upon himself the odium of people of all ranks, and especially of the leading Cardinals. These latter, therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and thence to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, where they elected to the Pontificate, Robert, Count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII., and declared at the same time, that the election of Urban was nothing more than a mere ceremony which they had found themselves obliged to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Urban remained at Rome: Clement went to Avignon, in France. His cause was espoused by France and Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, while all the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban to be the true Vicar of Christ. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful Pope, is, to this day, matter of

doubt, nor will the records and writings alleged by the contending parties enable us to adjust that point with any certainty.

Thus the union of the Latin Church under one head, was destroyed at the death of Gregory XI., and was succeeded by that memorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the great Western schism. This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of fifty years, the Church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending Popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times are beyond all power of description; for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several Popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. Nevertheless, these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for, by these dissensions, the Papal power received an incurable wound; and Kings and Princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly Pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the Popes, on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the Church might be maintained, and the interests of religion secured and promoted, without a visible head, crowned with spiritual supremacy.*

* When we read of aspiring Prelates assuming lofty titles, and surrendering themselves to the lust of empire; when we trace them through the labyrinths of fraud and treachery, by which, serpent-like, they insinuated themselves into seats of pride and power, we ask, Are these the ministers of Him who is "meek and lowly of heart?" When we read the story of bitter and sanguinary wars, of hollow truces, and wars again; when told of one Pope, that he clothed himself in armour, and carried war into the territory of his enemy; and of another, that he fled from the Vatican, in order to escape the fury of soldiers, who, though of the

During these dissensions, the fires of persecution were not permitted to die away. In England, Archbishop Arundel, at the instigation of the Popes, became both a persecutor and a traitor; he urged Henry IV., who had usurped the throne by the aid of the Clergy, to pass a statute, whereby all who propagated the doctrines of Wickliff, by preaching, writing, teaching, or discourse, were required to renounce their heresies, and deliver in all their heretical books, and submit themselves to the Church, on pain of being delivered over to the secular arm, and burnt alive. To give further efficacy to this bloody statute, Arundel set forth several provincial constitutions, whereby any

Romish faith, and serving a Popish Prince, were pillaging the city of Rome, we exclaim, Can this be the history of the Church of Christ? Impossible. Hear Christ himself, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight; but now is my kingdom not from hence." "If," says the Scripture, "if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his;" and if any Church have not the spirit of Christ, that Church is none of his. The spirit of Christ is the spirit of humility and love; but in vain do we seek it in the community of which we now speak. While the Church of Rome has boasted her uniformity, the appearance of which she has not always been able to preserve, she has ever been essentially deficient of charity, the indispensable characteristic of the Church of Christ. Notwithstanding the efforts employed to present an exterior of uniformity and agreement, the intestine struggles which have continually agitated that Church, have very frequently caused the cloak to fly open, and the mask to fall from the face. The schisms and broils of the candidates for the Papacy, disfigure the very pages which record the history of the Popes; and time would absolutely fail, to enumerate the perpetual contentions which have endangered the very existence of their system. Including within its pale as many of the nations as possible, and receiving with pride, the homage of "the Princes of this world," the Members of this Church have been perpetually at war with each other, and Papists have been the most murderous enemies of Papists. Men sustaining spiritual titles have been found on the field of battle, clothed, but not "in the armour of God;" wielding, but not "the sword of the spirit;" and dying their garments, not in their own blood by a holy martyrdom, but in the blood of their brethren, the members of the Church of Rome. It is impossible to discover in the whole history of its affairs, one exemplification of that saying of the Lord Jesus, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one towards another."

persons preaching doctrines contrary to the determination of the Church, or calling in question what the Church had determined, were to be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, on the first offence, and declared heretics for the second. Whoever read the books of Wickliff or his disciples, without a license from one of the Universities, was to suffer as a promoter of heresy. The greater excommunication was to be incurred by advancing propositions, even in the schools, which tended to subvert the Catholic faith. It was declared heresy to dispute the utility of pilgrimages, or the adoration of Images, and of the Cross. The proceedings against offenders in this case, were to be as summary as in cases of treason. And because it was difficult to retain the true sense of Scripture translations, whoever should translate it, or read such translations, particularly Wickliff's, without the approbation of his ordinary, or of a provincial Council, was to be punished as a promoter of heresy. That this statute was not suffered to become obsolete, may easily be imagined.

William Sautre, the parish Priest of St. Osithes, in London, was the first victim under its enactments, and the first martyr for the Reformation in England. On Saturday, Feb. 12, 1401, he was summoned to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and accused of holding heretical opinions. The principal articles against him were, that he had said, he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ, that suffered on the cross; that every Priest and Deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say particular services at the Canonical hours; and that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

A few days were allowed him to answer these accusations: when he appeared and delivered his reply, in which he fully explained his views; and being required by the Archbishop to renounce his opinions, he refused to do so. He was then examined more particularly respecting the Sacrament of the altar; and continuing to defend the doctrines he had advanced on that subject, he was condemned as a heretic, and sentence pro-

nounced against him as follows: "In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, and Legate of the See Apostolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of Holy Church, and by our own authority, sitting for tribunal or chief Judge, having God before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the whole Clergy, our fellow-brethren and suffragans, assistants to us in this Council Provincial, by this our sentence definitive, do pronounce, decree, and declare, by these presents, thee, William Sautre, otherwise called Chawtrey, Parish Priest pretended, personally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of Heresy, judicially and lawfully convict as an Heretic, and as an Heretic to be punished."

This being the first condemnation of the kind in England, Arundel was punctual in all its forms, that they might serve for an exact precedent in future. They were probably derived from the practice of the accursed Inquisitors in Languedoc; and they were well devised for prolonging an impression of horror upon the expectant and awed spectators. On the 24th of February, Sautre was brought before the Primate and six other Bishops in the cathedral of St. Paul's; they were in their pontifical attire, and he appeared in priestly vestments, with the paten and chalice in his hands. Arundel stood up, and, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, (thus profaned in this inhuman process,) degraded him, first from his priestly order, and, in sign of that degradation, took from him the paten and chalice, and plucked the priestly casule from his back. The New Testament was then put into his hands, and taken from him; the stole being at the same time pulled off, to degrade him from the office of Deacon. By depriving him of the alb and maniple, his deprivation from the order of Subdeacon was effected. The candlestick, taper, and urceole, were taken from him, as Acolyte; the book of exorcisms, as Exorcist; the lectionary, as Reader; he then remained in a surplice, as Sexton, and with the key of the church-door; these also were taken from him; the Priest's cap was then to be laid aside, the tonsure rased away, so that

no outward mark whatever of his order might remain; the cap of a layman was placed upon his head. Arundel then delivered him, as a secular person, to the Secular Court of the High Constable and Marshal of England, there present, beseeching 'the Court to receive favorably the said William Sautre unto them thus recommitted!' For, with this hypocritical recommendation to mercy, the Romish Church always delivered over its victims to be burnt alive.

The sentence was carried into execution without loss of time, and thus Henry IV. was the first English King who caused Christ's Saints to be burned for opposing the Pope; and William Sautre was the first who suffered in this cause, in England, a Martyr to the faith of Christ.

The hopes that Urban's death would end the divisions of the Romish Church, or, at least, forward a reconciliation, were soon disappointed.—The Cardinals then in Rome chose Peter Tomacelli, a Neapolitan Cardinal priest, who succeeded to the Papacy as Boniface IX. and whose determined resolution it was to maintain his dignity. He and Clement renewed the excommunication against each other, and their respective friends, and were more adverse to peace than any of their adherents; many, from a sense of the evils of this separation, made proposals for restoring tranquillity. Among these, were the proposals of the University of Paris, that both should resign; or, that the matter should be left to arbitration, or that a General Council should decide it. Neither of the rival Pontiffs was inclined to this; though they acted very artfully, endeavouring to deceive one another. Boniface retired to Perusa, and Clement died at Avignon, A. D. 1394. The Cardinals at Avignon proceeded to a new election, and bound themselves by oath, that the newly elected Pontiff should faithfully labour to restore peace, even by the method of Cession, if that should be approved of by the majority of suffrages in the College of Cardinals. Cardinal Peter de Lima, who took the name of Benedict XIII. being promoted, so far from fulfilling the fair promises he had made, though confirmed by an oath, defeated all pacific endeavors by an unparalleled obstinacy. After various changes of fortune, Benedict sent a legation to Boniface, with

overtures towards an accommodation; but the death of the latter, in 1403, terminated the treaty. Boniface was an illiterate, but clever man of business; rapacious of money, beyond all former precedent, he perceived what a productive engine of profit the Clementine doctrine of the spiritual treasury and its engrafted indulgencies was meant, and could be used, to be; he therefore coined, and sent his legates with his Papal Bank Paper, to various parts of the Christian World, and poured his relaxations out; and sold them, till they brought down contempt upon the Holy See, and provoked animadversion and resentment from those, who, previously, had never thought of censuring the Popedom.

Upon the death of Boniface IX. the Cardinals of his party raised to the Pontificate, in the year 1404, Cosmo de Meliorati, who assumed the name of Innocent VII. and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only.

This Pope ensured the destruction of all the piety of character and conduct of the Papacy, by causing the municipal authorities of Rome, in 1405, to surrender to him and his successors the sovereignty of the city. From this time the Pontiffs negotiated, intrigued, schemed, and fought for the acquisition of territory and power, for worldly pomp and aggrandizement, to the increasing loss of all their official influence, personal reputation and individual virtue.

After his decease, Angelo Corrario, a Venetian Cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of Gregory XII. A plan of reconciliation was, however, formed, and the contending Pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step should be deemed necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both scandalously violated this solemn obligation. Benedict, besieged in Avignon by the King of France, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into Catalonia, his native country, and afterwards to Perpignan. Hence, eight or nine of the Cardinals who adhered to his cause, seeing themselves deserted by their Pope, went over to the other side, and joining publicly with the Cardinals who supported Gregory, they

agreed together to assemble a council at Pisa, on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the Papal Empire. This Council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the Church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was generally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and excite new divisions. Its proceedings indeed, were vigorous; and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced, on the 5th day of June, against the contending Pontiffs, who were declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and separated, *ipso facto*, from the communion of the Church. This step was followed by the election of one Pontiff in their place. The election took place on the 25th of June, and fell upon Peter of Candia, known in the Papal list by the name of Alexander V.; but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council, were treated with contempt by the condemned Pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges, and to perform the functions, of the Papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. Benedict held a Council at Perpignan, and Gregory assembled one near Aquileia, in the district of Friuli. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians, made his escape in a clandestine manner from the territory of Aquileia, arrived at Caieta, where he threw himself upon the protection of Ladislaus, King of Naples, and, in 1412, fled thence to Rimini.

Thus was the Christian Church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies and excommunications. Alexander V. who had been elected Pontiff at the Council of Pisa, died at Bologna in 1410, being, as was generally supposed, poisoned by his successor; after which, the sixteen Cardinals who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy by choosing, as his successor, Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, destitute of all principles both of religion and probity, who assuming the title of John XXIII. soon afterwards appealed

to all Christian princes to appoint a general Council, to put a stop to the reigning evils, and to unite the whole Church under one head. The choice of the place was left to the Emperor, who fixed on Constance. Here the Council was opened on the 1st of November, 1414. The Pope appeared in person, attended by a great number of Cardinals and Bishops, at this famous Council; which was also honored with the presence of the Emperor Sigismund, and of a great number of German Princes, and with that of the Ambassadors of all the European States, whose Monarchs or Regents could not be personally present at the decision of this important controversy.

After the Members of the Council had deliberated, some acknowledged the legality of the Council of Pisa; while the greater number disowned it, decreeing at the same time, that John XXIII. as well as Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. should entirely renounce his claims to the Pontificate. Thus was John mortified by disappointment, at the moment he expected a triumph; but what inflicted a still deeper wound on his feelings, was the resolution with which they vindicated the privileges of the Council. Conscious of their strength, they declared that the representatives of the Church in General Council assembled, were superior to the sovereign Pontiff; not only when schism prevailed, but at all other times whatever. This was one of their earliest Acts.

Although John was disheartened by this rigorous sentence, he yet prepared to appear before the Council, and there to maintain, that he could not be deposed, except on the score of heresy. The dissuasion of his friends, however, altered his determination; at their instance too, he was induced to resign the Papal dignity, on condition, that his competitors would do the same. A renunciation to this effect, was accordingly drawn up by the Council, publicly read, and subscribed in due form by himself. Notwithstanding this solemn act, by which he bound himself to God, and to the Council, that he would voluntarily give peace to the Church, by his abdication of the Pontificate, and not leave Constance before the Council had concluded its sittings, did he forswear himself, and violate his promise.

John's flight from Constance in disguise, caused some consternation: his friends in the Council maintaining, that its functions ceased on the retreat of the Pope; while the majority contended for the superiority of the Council over every person, not even excepting the Pope, in matters relating to faith, the extirpation of schism, and the general reformation of the Church. Negotiations ensued between the Council and John, from which it appeared, that his only object was to gain time, and that, if nothing favourable to his views occurred, he might engender strife amongst its members, and cause its dissolution. The Council, however, no way disconcerted, although worn out by his excuses, delays and equivocations, issued citation after citation for John's appearance before them, and at last reduced him to a perfect submission to its authority, and to an acknowledgment, that it could not err; and that he had no right whatever to the Pontifical dignity! Yet after this, with all his fresh and flagrant infamy upon him, his successor made him a Bishop and a Cardinal, appointed him Dean of the Sacred College, and gave him a place next to himself in all public ceremonies. The ashes of Huss and Jerome were cast into the Rhine, but the remains of this man were honoured by Cosmo de Medici with sumptuous obsequies.

Gregory XII. withdrew his claims to the Papal chair,*

* Of this Pope we know nothing worthy of record, except it be the Bull which he issued in favour of the conversion of the Jews. This document is subjoined as being curious in itself, and as evincing Gregory's zeal in favour of a design, the accomplishment of which God appears to have reserved the Nineteenth Century alone to witness.

CONSTITUTION RESPECTING THE JEWS, BY POPE GREGORY XII.

"The Holy Mother the Church, of which Christ is the Head, in the wide diffusion of her innate charity to all mankind, never ceases to compassionate with pious affection the peculiar remains of the ancient Israelitish race and people of God, and grievously mourns that the nation of the Jews, once distinguished by gifts and graces, whose was the adoption of sons, the glory, the covenant, the giving of the law, the obedience and promises, of whom also, according to the flesh, Christ our Saviour vouchsafed to be born, now for so many ages dispersed over various parts of the world, and, like an infectious flock, miserably wandering through pathless and unwatered places, is perishing with hunger

while Benedict XIII. was deposed by a solemn decree of the Council. After the extinction of this Papal Triumvirate,

and thirst for want of the word of God and the water of life, and is driven far away, not only from the earthly Jerusalem over which the Lord wept, but, what is more grievous, from the heavenly Jerusalem also, unless they confess Christ, whom they have denied. With which compassion and grief, we also, being not a little moved, are from day to day always devising some means, which, under the mercy of God, may better promote their conversion and salvation; and enable them to walk in the way of understanding, from which they have debarred themselves. Wherefore, meditating on these things with solicitude of mind, and treading in the steps of Pope Nicholas V., of blessed memory, and of some other Roman pontiffs our predecessors, by the present general constitution we enjoin all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of churches, and those also who are invested with the dignity of cardinals, that in their respective cities, countries, and places, in which reside any number of Jews sufficient to constitute a synagogue, they take care that on the Sabbath, or other stated day of every week, before those Jews, convoked in a place appointed, but not a consecrated place or one in which divine services are accustomed to be performed, before some Master in Divinity or other competent person to be chosen by them, with a suitable salary, to be furnished by the contributions of the Jews themselves, or otherwise, as to them shall appear more proper, sermons or lectures, (in the Hebrew language, if possible) be delivered, in which shall be expounded to them the Scriptures of the Old Testament, namely, of Moses and the Prophets, but especially those which are read on that Sabbath, or which have been read in their synagogues, but according to the interpretation of the Holy Fathers, and the true sense of the Catholic Church, and that those sermons and lectures do treat of the truth of the Christian religion, of the certain advent and incarnation of the Son of God, of his nativity, life, miracles, passion, death, burial, descent into Hell, resurrection, and ascension to Heaven; of his Gospel preached throughout the world by his Apostles and other saints, confirmed by innumerable and most eminent gifts, and the glory of illustrious miracles; of his spiritual and true kingdom; of the abolition of the impious worship of idols; of the calling of the Gentiles; of the perpetual desolation of Jerusalem, and the country of those Jews, and their captivity, and perpetual dispersion throughout all the world; and of other doctrines and articles, enforcing the like argument from the law and the prophets; moreover of the long-continued and disappointed expectation, entertained by the Jews, of the advent of the Messiah and his carnal kingdom; of their vain hope, by which they have been often and even daily deceived, of a return to the land of promise, and the restoration of a third temple; and, finally, of their manifold and various errors and heresies into which they have sunk since they refused to acknowledge Christ the Lord coming in the flesh, and of the false interpretation which their Rabbis have given of the Holy Scriptures, which, perverting the letter and sense, by fa-

Martin V. became the object of their choice; against whose election, however, Benedict protested to the latest hour of his life. After the death of Benedict, a new competitor was set up for the Pontificate, by two of the Cardinals, under the title of Clement VIII. but he was afterwards prevailed on to resign, and to leave Martin in undisturbed possession. With his resignation, the disgrace and degradation of the Church may be said to have terminated.

While thus engaged in restoring peace to the Romish Church, the attention of the Council was directed to the contests of John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, with the advocates of that very Church. Bohemia had early received the faith of the Waldensian Christians, and was long distinguished by the piety of its professors.

bles, falsehoods, and various methods and subtleties, they have corrupted and wrested, and still continue to corrupt and wrest; and that, with a prudent consideration of time, place, and argument under discussion, they treat of all other things which may convert them to an acknowledgment of the truth, to a correction of their errors, and to the orthodox faith; and that, by demonstrations true, and drawn from the Holy Scriptures, without any detraction or wrath, but with great charity and modesty, they endeavour to open to them the light of truth. To which sermons and lectures, we will that all and every the Jews of both sexes, from twelve years old and upwards, not prevented by sickness or other lawful cause, of which they ought to inform the ordinaries residing in the cities or places as aforesaid, or coming from any other place, although they have no residence there, do assemble in each district, so that at least a third part of them, and never less than a third part, be always present. Which if they shall neglect to do, they are forbidden all intercourse with the faithful, and by other punishments inflicted according to the degree of contumacy at the pleasure of the ordinary, till they shall have made due satisfaction, let them be compelled to hear those sermons. But if any one of the faithful shall have been so regardless either of his own salvation, or of that of his neighbour, with which every individual is charged, as to have directly or indirectly hindered or kept them away from such salutary lectures, or in any way whatever attempted to do so, let him be instantly bound with the sentence of excommunication, and be proceeded against by other punishments entirely at the discretion of the ordinary. But the emperor, and all kings and princes, republics, magistrates, and temporal and secular lords, we beseech and conjure in the Lord, that to patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries aforesaid, and their vicars and ministers, they afford their aid in the premises, in the confidence of receiving a most abundant reward from Almighty God in the supreme mansions of glory everlasting."

On the introduction, however, of Popery, through the influence of Charles IV., ignorance, profligacy, and corruption of manners began to prevail among all orders of the people; and the Inquisition was introduced for the purpose of enforcing despotism in the civil government, and uniformity of opinion in matters of religion. The consequence was, that multitudes withdrew themselves from the public places of worship, and followed the dictates of their own consciences, by worshipping God in private houses, woods and caves. Here they were prosecuted, dragooned, drowned and killed, and thus matters went on till the appearance of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. John Huss, who had been a student in the University of Prague, where he had taken his degrees, and become a zealous disciple of Wickliffe, was born in the village of Hussinetz, in 1373, of parents not in affluent circumstances. He was a person of eminent abilities, and of still more eminent zeal; his talents were popular, his life irreproachable, and his manners the most affable and engaging. He was the idol of the populace;* but in proportion as he attracted their esteem and regard, he drew upon himself the execration of the priests.

The introduction of Wickliffe's writings into the University of Prague, gave great offence to the Archbishop of Prague, who issued an order, that every person who was in possession of them should bring the books to him, in order that such as contained any thing heretical might be burnt. Huss, and the members of the University, entered a protest against these proceedings, and on the 25th of June, 1410, appealed from the sentence of the Archbishop to the Court of Rome. The affair was carried before Pope John XXIII. who granted a commission to Cardinal Colonna to cite Huss to appear personally before him at Rome, and there answer the accusations

* A Bohemian Jesuit, who was far from being favourable to John Huss, and who had the best means of being acquainted with his real character, describes him thus. "He was more subtile than eloquent, but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be."

laid against him of preaching both errors and heresies. Huss desired to be excused a personal appearance, and so greatly was he favoured in Bohemia, that King Wenceslaus, his Queen, the nobility, and the university at large, joined in a request to the Pope, that he would dispense with such an appearance; and moreover, that he would not suffer the Kingdom of Bohemia to be subject to the imputation of heresy, but permit them to preach the Gospel with freedom in their places of worship; and that he would send Legates to Prague to correct any presumed abuses, the expence of which should be defrayed by the Bohemians. Three Proctors were dispatched to Rome to tender Huss's apology to his Holiness; but the excuses alledged were deemed insufficient, and Huss, being declared contumacious, was accordingly excommunicated. This excommunication extended also to his disciples and friends; he himself was declared a promoter of heresy, and an interdict was pronounced against him.

With a view to heal the fatal schisms of the Church, and repair the disorders that had sprung up during their continuance, as well as to bring about a reformation of the Clergy, which was now loudly and generally called for, the Emperor Sigismund had convened the Council of Constance. Hither, from all parts, princes and prelates, clergy and laity, regulars and seculars flocked together. Fox, the martyrologist, has given us a humourous catalogue of this grotesque assembly. "There were," says he, "archbishops and bishops, 346; abbots and doctors, 564; princes, dukes, earls, knights, and squires, 16,000; prostitutes, 450; barbers, 600; musicians, cooks, and jesters, 320."

The Council being assembled, thither Huss was cited to appear, in order to justify his conduct and writings. The Emperor Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus, encouraged Huss to obey the summons, and as an inducement to his compliance, sent him a passport with assurance of safe conduct, permitting him to come freely to the Council, and pledging himself for his safe return. Huss consented, but no sooner had he arrived within the Pope's jurisdiction, than, regardless of the Emperor's passport, he was arrested and committed close

prisoner to a chamber in the palace. This violation of common law and justice was noticed by the friends of Huss, who had, out of the respect they bore his character, accompanied him to Constance. They urged the Imperial safe conduct, but the Pope replied that he never granted any safe conduct, nor was he bound by that of the Emperor.

The Decree of the 19th Session of the Council, sanctioning this breach of faith, runs thus.—“This present Synod declareth that the safe conduct granted to heretics by an Emperor, King, or any other secular prince, shall not prevent any ecclesiastical judge from PUNISHING such heretics, EVEN if they come to the place of judgment, relying SOLELY on such safeguard, and would not otherwise come thither.” Irritated at this scandalous conduct, Sigismund immediately sent orders to his Ambassadors at the Council to demand his instant liberation, and even to break the gates of the prison in case of resistance. The crooked arts of the Pope, however, prevailed, and Huss had no resource but to commit his cause to Him that judgeth righteously.

Jerome of Prague was the intimate friend and companion of Huss; inferior to him in age, experience, and authority, but his superior in all liberal endowments. The Universities of Prague, of Paris, of Cologne, and of Heidelberg, conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts; and having made the tour of the Continent, he visited England, where he obtained access to the writings of Wickliffe, which he copied out, and returned with them to Prague. As Jerome had distinguished himself by an active co-operation with Huss in all his opposition to the abominations of the times, he was cited before the Council of Constance on the 17th of April, 1415, at the time his friend Huss was confined in a Castle near that City. Arriving shortly afterwards in Constance, or the neighbourhood, he learnt how his friend had been treated, and what he himself had to expect, on which he prudently retired to Iberlingen, an imperial city, from whence he wrote to the Emperor and Council, requesting a safe conduct, but not obtaining one to his satisfaction, he was preparing to return into Bohemia, when he was arrested at Hirschaw and conveyed

to Constance. Being conveyed privately to St. Paul's Church, by order of Wallenrod, Archbishop of Riga, he was bound to a post, and his hands were chained to his neck. In this posture he remained ten days, and was fed with bread and water only. His friends, all this time, knew not what was become of him, till at length one of them received notice of his pitiable situation from the keeper of the prison, and procured him better nourishment; but he remained in prison till his execution.

Huss being condemned, was ordered to be degraded. The Bishops clothed him with the priest's garments, and put a chalice into his hands. While they were thus employed, he said, that "the Jews put a white garment on our Lord Jesus Christ, to mock him, when Herod delivered him to Pilate," and he made reflections of the same kind on each of the sacerdotal ornaments. When he was fully apparelled, the Prelates once more exhorted him to retract, and to this exhortation he replied with his usual firmness; they then caused him to come down from the stool on which he stood and pronounced these words: "O cursed Judas, who, having forsaken the Council of Peace, art entered into that of the Jews, we take this chalice from thee in which is the blood of Jesus Christ." But God was with the Martyr, who cried aloud, "I trust in the mercy of God, I shall drink of it this very day in his Kingdom." Then they stripped him of all his vestments, one after another, uttering a curse on stripping him of each. Having completed his degradation by the addition of some other ridiculous insults, not worthy of a distinct relation, they put a paper coronet on his head, on which they had painted three devils, with this inscription—ARCH HERETIC, and said, "We devote thy soul to the infernal devils." "I am glad," said the Martyr, "to wear the crown of ignominy for the love of him who wore a crown of thorns."

When the printed paper was placed upon his head, one of the Bishops said, "Now we commit thy soul to the devil." "But I," said Huss, "commit my spirit into thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ; unto thee I commit my spirit, which thou hast redeemed." The Council now ordered this sentence to

be pronounced, namely, "The holy Synod of Constance declares—'that John Huss ought to be given up to the secular power, and does accordingly so give him up, considering that the Church of God has no more to do with him.' "

Sigismund committed the execution of Huss to the Elector Palatine; the Martyr walking amidst his guards, declared his innocence to the people. When he came near the place of execution he kneeled and prayed with such fervour, that some of the people said aloud, "What this man has done before we know not, but we hear him now offer up most excellent prayers to God." The Elector Palatine prevented him from speaking to the people, and ordered him to be burned. "Lord Jesus," said Huss aloud, "I humbly suffer this cruel death for thy sake, and I pray thee to forgive all my enemies." His paper crown falling from off his head, the soldiers put it on again, saying it must be burned with the devils whom he had served; his neck was fastened to the stake, and the wood was piled about him. The Elector advanced to exhort him once more on the oft repeated subject of retractation. "What I have written and taught," these were the words of Huss, "was in order to rescue souls from the power of the devil, and to deliver them from the tyranny of sin; and I do gladly seal what I have written and taught with my blood." The Elector withdrawing, the fire was kindled, and Huss was soon suffocated, having called on God as long as he could speak.

Many other circumstances of the cruel indignity with which he was treated, it is not necessary to relate; it is more to our purpose to observe what Æneas Sylvius, a Roman Catholic historian, records of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague. "They went," says he, "to the stake as to a banquet, not a word fell from them which discovered the least timidity; they sung hymns in the flames to the last gasp without ceasing."

The Council, startled at the expostulations of the Bohemian Lords, yet being still determined to maintain their own unjust authority, at length, partly by promises and partly by threatenings, induced Jerome of Prague to retract his sentiments; but notwithstanding his retractation he was remanded to

prison, where however we find he was allowed a little more liberty than before.

Then it was that this great man, whom a long series of affliction and cruel persecution, and above all the consciousness of his late prevarication had brought into the lowest distress, began to exhibit that strength of mind, that force of genius and eloquence, and that integrity and fortitude which will be the admiration of all ages, and which divine grace alone could have called forth at such a juncture; how bitterly he had repented and mourned over his fall, and with what exercises of soul he had been disciplined in secret, the intelligent Christian may easily conceive, though we have no particular account upon record. We know, indeed, that after he had acted against his conscience he retired from the Council with a very heavy heart, his chains had been taken from him, but the load was transferred from his body to his mind, and the caresses of those about him served only to mock his sorrow. The anguish of his own reflections rendered his prison a more gloomy solitude than he ever found it before. Jerome, however, was not an apostate, and the God whom he served had compassion on the infirmities of his nature and did not desert him in his humiliation; no, he made his latter end to be blessed and glorious.

The firmness, eloquence, and zeal of Jerome, sensibly affected the Council. They proposed to him, once more, to retract, but he replied, "You have determined to condemn me unjustly, but after my death I shall leave a sting in your consciences, and a worm that shall never die. I appeal to the Sovereign Judge of all the Earth, in whose presence ye must appear to answer me." After sentence had been pronounced against him, he was delivered to the secular power, he was treated with scorn and insult similar to that which his friend Huss had experienced; he put the mitre with his own hands upon his head, saying that he was glad to wear it for the sake of him who was crowned with one of thorns. As he went to execution he sung the Apostles Creed and the hymns of the Church, with a loud voice and a cheerful countenance; He kneeled at the stake and prayed. Being bound, he

raised his voice and sang a paschal hymn much used in the Church.

The Executioner approaching to the pile behind his back, lest Jerome should see him, "Come forward," said the Martyr to him, "and put fire to it before my face." He continued alive in the flames a full quarter of an hour, and there is the most unanimous testimony given by all writers, Hussite and Roman Catholic, to the heroic courage and fortitude with which he sustained the torment. When he was much scorched with the fury of the fire, and almost smothered in the flame, he was heard to cry out, "O Lord God, have mercy on me, have mercy on me;" and a little afterward, "Thou knowest how I have loved thy truth." By and bye the wind parted the flames, and exhibited his body full of large blisters, a dreadful spectacle to the beholders; yet even then his lips are said to have continued still moving, as if his mind was occupied by intense devotion.

This practice of burning alive those who opposed the Papal system, was a mode of punishment which fixes on the Roman Church an indelible condemnation. Even the dreadful Mexican superstition only tore out the heart of her victim. In the worship of Moloch alone were living human creatures consumed in the flame. That the Priesthood of the kindest and most beneficent Being that ever claimed the veneration of mankind, should doom their fellow creatures to perish in slow agony by fire, was such a contradiction to his precepts, and to that benign character which he requires in all his followers, that the fact would seem incredible and almost impossible, if its chronology had been more remote, or its perpetration less frequent.

A fouler blot does not stain the page of history than the treatment which the martyr Huss received at the hands of the Constantian Fathers. For their base, hypocritical, and treacherous conduct no palliation can be offered, no excuse alledged. It forms a standing memorial of Popish intolerance, which sophistry cannot obliterate, nor casuistry efface. His, to be sure, was the crime to object to *Half-Communion*, by which the cup was sacrilegiously withheld from the laity; his

too was the heinous crime to say that innocence of life was more important than outward observances; but above all, his was the unpardonable crime to think *for himself*! That he entertained some erroneous and superstitious notions is quite natural to suppose, from the habits of the age in which he lived; but what true Christian is there existing, who would not respect his name and reverence his memory? To him belongs the glory of pursuing the path, which was traced out and illumined by the *Morning Star* of the *Reformation*, and of transmitting a bright pattern for imitation to those who afterwards perished in the achievement of that ever blessed work.

The melancholy fate of John Huss, is an imperishable monument of disgrace to the character of the Council of Constance. Whatever faults may be attributed to this eminent ecclesiastic; if manly independance in maintaining his opinions, and ardent zeal in exposing the vices which disgraced the conduct of the Clergy, can be considered faults; they vanish before the recollection of the death to which he was consigned. He was deemed a disobedient son of the Church, by refusing to renounce his eyesight, and to submit both his will and judgment without reservation, to the will and judgment of the Holy Mother. In a word, he refused to yield a servile obedience to ecclesiastical despotism, and therefore, his doom was sealed.

The leading charge against him was,—his requiring, that the Laity, as well as the Clergy, should partake of Communion in both kinds. This it was which led him to the stake, where his friend, Jerome of Prague shortly after perished, for having maintained the same principles. In the endurance of suffering, these unfortunate Bohemians evinced the same pious fortitude, and the same constancy of mind, “They went,” says the Historian, “to the stake as if it were to a banquet, without uttering a complaint, that could betray weakness of mind. When they began to burn, they sang a hymn, which even the crackling of the flames could not interrupt. Never did any philosopher suffer death with so much courage, as they endured the fire.” The firmness and Christian temper which they dis-

played at the hour of trial, were of the description, that won a crown of martyrdom for the aged Polycarp, and have no parallel in history, if we except the conduct of the venerable Fathers of the Reformation;—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, when placed in similar circumstances. We are not informed, how the ashes of Jerome were disposed of; but we may suppose, that the Council carried its tender mercies so far, as to order them to be cast into the Rhine, with the ashes of Huss. With a kindred feeling they had previously ordered the bones of Wickliffe to be disinterred, could they be distinguished from the bones of the faithful, and thrown into the river of Lutterworth;—a mandate, which its compassionate agents in England punctually executed!

Although both Huss and Jerome suffered on the same grounds of accusation, the injustice was a deeper die in the case of one, than of the other. The safe conduct of the former, was of the most *unqualified* description, Jerome's was not so; and therefore, he had comparatively less cause of complaint; although this can never justify the cruel punishment to which he was subjected. The pretended safe conduct, which the Council sent him, was so loosely worded, that the Fathers could not be charged with a direct violation of faith. "That no violence may be done to you, we give you by these presents a *plenary* safe conduct, *saving* nevertheless *justice*, as far as it is incumbent on us, and as the orthodox faith requires." Relying, however, on the principle of faith so insidiously pledged by them, he inconsiderately repaired to Constance, where he soon paid the forfeit of his rashness in the tragical exhibition already narrated.

Having branded with infamy the memory of Wickliffe, and ordered his bones and writings to be committed to the flames, the Council proceeded to consider a question which had been started by some of the members, relative to the communion in both kinds. After considerable discussion, the assembled Fathers on the 14th of June, 1415, enacted a decree, forbidding the reception of the communion in both kinds, and ordering the laity to partake of the bread only in the Lord's Supper. No other reason was assigned for this unscriptural mandate,

except the regard which the Council had to the doctrine of transubstantiation; at the same time they owned that, in the primitive church, this sacrament in both kinds, was received by the believers.

“Thus,” says Milner, “the triumph of the Roman Church was complete. She dared to own, that she contradicted primitive Christianity; and she dared to enact, that those who refused to obey her instructions, though confessedly contrary to those of the Primitive Church, ought to be treated as heretics! What is this but open, undisguised opposition to the commands of Jesus Christ? And what other name but that of Antichrist can so well express the corrupt and presumptuous domination of the Romish hierarchy?”

Previous to the dissolution of the assembly, a decree was passed in favour of the frequent meeting of general Councils, for the preservation of good order in the Church. Two were accordingly appointed, the first at the expiration of five years, which was to be succeeded by another three years afterwards. The Council was then dissolved on the 22nd of April, 1418, having continued sitting for the protracted space of three years and a half.

The following impious Bull of Martin V. dissolving this Council, will give the reader some further proof of the ignorance and presumption of the Romish hierarchy. “Martin, bishop, servant of the servants of God, at the request of the sacred Council, we dismiss it. Moreover, by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and by our own authority, we grant to all the members of the Council, plenary absolution of all their sins in their lives, so that every one of them, within two months after the notification of this privilege has come to his knowledge, may enjoy the benefit of the said absolution in form. We also grant them the said privilege in the moment of death; and we extend it to the domestics, as well as to the masters, on condition, that from the day of notification both the one and the other fast every Friday, during a whole year, for the absolution granted to them while alive; and another year for their absolution, in the moment of death, unless there be some law-

ful impediment ; in which case, they shall do other works of piety. And after the second year, they shall be obliged to fast on Friday's during life, or to do some other acts of piety, on pain of incurring the displeasure of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul."

CHAPTER XX.

MARTYRDOM OF LORD COBHAM.

IN 1413, twelve Inquisitors of heresy, for this dreadful name had been introduced in England, were appointed at Oxford, to search out heretics and heretical books. They presented, as heresies, two hundred and forty-six articles, or heads of doctrine, deduced, some truly, and some falsely, from the writings of Wickliffe's followers, and of the Lollards ; and they represented that Christ's vesture without seam could not be made whole again, unless, certain great men, who supported the disciples of Wickliffe, were removed ; particularizing Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife, was Lord Cobham, a man of high birth, and, at that time, in favour with Henry V., to whom they accused him of holding heretical opinions concerning the sacrament, penance, pilgrimages, the adoration of images, and the authority of the Romish Church, declaring their intention of proceeding against him as a most pernicious heretic.

Being admonished by Henry, that, as an obedient child, he should acknowledge himself culpable, and submit to his Mother the Church, the Christian knight made this reply ; "you, most worthy prince, I am always prompt, and willing to obey ;

unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience and submit thereunto, as I have ever done, all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever you in the Lord command me. But, as touching the Pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service; for so much as I know him by the scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place!" Upon this, the king turned angrily away, and authorized Arundel to proceed against him to the uttermost.

The Archbishop having received permission to proceed, sent his chief summoner to the Castle, at Cowling in Kent, to which place Lord Cobham had retired, where he availed himself of the privileges then possessed by the nobility, and refused to obey the mandate. The Archbishop then caused his citation to be affixed to the gates of Rochester Cathedral, and as Lord Cobham still refused to appear, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, and the civil power was called upon to assist in his apprehension.

In better reliance, upon a good cause, than upon popular favour and his own means of resistance, he wrote a paper, which he entitled, *The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham*; and with this he went to the king, trusting, it is said, to find mercy and favour at his hand. Among other things, he professed his full belief that the body and blood of Christ were verily and indeed contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the similitudes of bread and wine; that the law of God was most true and perfect, and that they which did not so follow it in their faith and works (at one time or other) could not be saved; 'whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicity of everlasting innocency. Finally, that God will ask no more of a Christian believer, in this life, than to obey the precepts of this most blessed law. If any prelate require more, or any other kind of obedience than this, he contemneth Christ, exalting himself above God, and so becometh an open Antichrist.' He required that the king would cause this his confession of faith to be justly examined

by the wisest and most learned men of the realm ; and that if it were found in all points agreeing to the truth, it might be so allowed, and he himself thereupon holden for none other than a true Christian ; or that it might be utterly condemned, if it were found otherwise, provided always that he were taught a better belief by the word of God, which word he would, at all times, most reverently obey.

Henry having delivered his heart and understanding into the keeping of the prelates, refused to receive the paper, ordering it to be delivered to those who were to be his judges.

When the king allowed him, in his presence, to be personally cited, Lord Cobham perceived that his destruction was determined on, and rejecting the Archbishop as his judge, appealed from him to the Pope ; which appeal being disallowed, he was immediately committed to the Tower, till the day appointed for his examination.

All hope having thus failed him, it remained only to assert the truth, like one who was about to bear witness to it in the flames. He passed the interval of his confinement in preparing accordingly. When he was brought before the Consistory, in the Chapter-house of Saint Paul's, Arundel addressed him, saying, that in the last general convocation he had by sufficient proof, been found culpable of certain heresies, and being cited, had for his rebellious contumacy in not appearing, been both privately and openly excommunicated. Nevertheless, he might then have obtained absolution, and even now it would not be refused, if he would meekly ask it. Without replying to this, Lord Cobham drew a writing from his bosom, and saying that he would gladly before that assembly make rehearsal of the faith which he held, and intended always to stand to, desired leave to read it. It contained his profession upon the four points, which were chiefly objected to him. As to the sacrament, he declared his belief in a real presence in the form of bread. Concerning penance, that it was needful for every man who would be saved, to forsake sin, and do due penance for sins which he had committed, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction, as God's law teacheth. Touching images, he held, that they were allowed by the

Church, as Kalendars for unlearned men, who might thus be reminded of the passion of Our Lord, and the martyrdom and holy lives of the saints ; but whosoever did to them that worship which is due to God, or put such trust in their help, as he should do in God, or had affection in one more than in another, he committed the sin of idolatry. And for pilgrimages, it was his belief, that they who did not keep the commandments in their lives, would not be saved by pilgrimages ; and they who did, would be saved without them. He then delivered in the writing. They bade him stand aside, while they consulted together. The business of this day ended in remanding him to the Tower till the ensuing Monday, when he was again brought up, but to a different place, and before a larger assembly.

At the Dominican Convent, within Ludgate, many canonists and friars, the heads and leading persons of their respective orders, were convened to sit in judgment on him ; while a number of priests, monks, canons, and friars, with a rabble of underlings, who were collected as spectators, insulted him as he came, for a horrible heretic, and a man accursed before God.

These things, and the certainty of what was to ensue, could not shake the constancy of his resolved mind. When Arundel began by offering him absolution and mercy, if he would humbly desire it, in due form and manner, as the church ordained, — ‘Nay, forsooth, will I not,’ he replied, ‘for I never trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it!’ Then kneeling on the pavement, and holding up his hands toward heaven, he exclaimed, ‘I confess me here unto Thee, my eternal, living God, that in my youth, I offended thee, O Lord, most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony ; in covetousness and in lechery ! Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins ! Good Lord, I ask Thee mercy !’ He wept while he uttered this passionate prayer ; then, standing up, said with a mighty voice, ‘Lo, good people, lo ! for the breaking of God’s law and his commandments they never yet cursed me ! But for their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle both me and other men.

And, therefore, both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroyed !'

When they had recovered from the surprise which this awful appeal produced, they began to examine him concerning his belief. He replied with the same intrepid spirit, "I believe, fully and faithfully, in the universal laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the Holy Sacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe." Such faith was not sufficient, under the Papal tyranny, to save him who professed it from the flames. They pressed him with the murderous question concerning material bread. He made answer, "The Scriptures make no mention of this word material, and therefore my faith hath nothing to do therewith. But this I say and believe, that it is Christ's body, and bread." They exclaimed against this with one voice; and one of the Bishops stood up and said, "It was a heresy manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramental words were spoken." The noble martyr replied, "St. Paul was, I am sure, as wise as you, and more godly learned, and he called it bread; 'the bread that we break,' saith he, 'is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?'"

"As for that virtuous man, Wickliffe, I shall say here, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwise, I trust, been with me. So much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions! Your fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrines to the devil; and you, as their natural children, have still the self-same judgment concerning his faithful followers. To judge you as you be, we need no farther go than to your own proper acts. Where do ye find in all God's law, that ye should thus sit in judgment of any Christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man to death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the Scriptures, so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, which sat thus upon Christ, and upon his Apostles after his Ascension. One Pope," he added, "hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed

another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief, as all the Chronicles tell. Let all men consider this well, that Christ was meek and merciful; the Pope is proud and a tyrant; Christ was poor and forgave; the Pope is rich and a malicious manslayer, as his daily acts do prove him; Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest cometh all the disciples of him, of whom prelates, priests, and monks are the body, and these piled friars are the tail."

Master as he was of the subject, strong in his cause, sure of the issue, and therefore fearless of it, and armed with Scripture, the Court felt his superiority. The Archbishop, therefore, thought proper to close an argument, in which the accused person had so manifestly the advantage of his judges and accusers. "Sir John," said he, "ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common sort. We must now be at this short point with you. Ye must submit yourself, and have none other opinion in these matters, than the universal faith and belief of the Holy Church of Rome, or else throw yourself (no remedy) into most deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be too late!" "I will none otherwise believe in these points," was the resolute reply, "than that I have told you hereafore; do with me what ye will!" "Well, then," said Arundel, "I see none other, but we must needs do the law!"

When Arundel had finished this wicked and inhuman sentence, Lord Cobham said to him, with a firm voice and courageous countenance, "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan upon the soul of Job. He who created that, will, of his infinite mercy and promise, save it; I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God!" Turning to the spectators then, he spread his hands, and spake with a loud voice, "Good Christian people, for God's love be well ware of these men! for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindling into hell with themselves. For

Christ saith plainly unto you, If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch!" Then kneeling down before them, he prayed for his enemies, "Lord God eternal! I beseech thee, of thy great mercy's sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will!"

The history of Lord Cobham, after his condemnation, may be briefly told. Although his enemies had passed on him sentence of death, they yet hesitated as to carrying it into execution, for he was very greatly and very generally beloved; and as one of their own Historians relates, "a man of integrity, dearly beloved by the King." These concurring circumstances induced them to delay his public execution for a few weeks: meanwhile, they circulated slanderous reports concerning his character, affirming, among other things, that he had recanted, and published a form of abjuration, which they reported that he had signed; upon which Lord Cobham caused another paper to be posted up, contradicting these false assertions.

Whatever caused the delay, it gave him an opportunity for escape; and availing himself of a dark night, he fled into Wales, where he remained for four years.

Towards the end of the year 1417, Lord Cobham was apprehended by Lord Powis, and sent as a prisoner to London. His death was not long delayed: he was dragged upon a hurdle, with insult and barbarity, to St. Giles's Fields, and there, as a traitor and a heretic, he was hung alive in chains upon a gallows; and a fire being kindled beneath, he was burned slowly to death.

Of his last moments we have not the exact particulars. There is, however, good ground for believing that he was enabled to resign himself patiently to the will of God, and to derive comfort and support from the Sacred Scriptures; it is also said that he suffered this painful and ignominious death "with the utmost bravery and most triumphant joy, exhorting the people to follow the instructions which God had given them in the Scriptures, and to disclaim those false teachers whose lives and conversation were so contrary to Christ and his religion."

CHAPTER XXI.

NOTWITHSTANDING the determination of the Constantian Fathers to hold another Council within five years, almost thirteen elapsed without the promised meeting. The remonstrances, however, of those whose zeal for the reformation of the Church interested them in this event, prevailed at length over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time; and Martin summoned a Council to meet at Pavia, whence it was removed to Sienna. This Council had for its object the Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, and the reformation of the Church, both in its head and members. One of the few decrees made by this Synod was directed against the Hussites, Wickliffites, and other dissentients from the Church of Rome; inasmuch as it granted Indulgences to such as extirpated *heretics*, all exemptions and safe-conducts by whatsoever persons vouchsafed to the contrary notwithstanding. After some other business of trifling import was transacted, Martin, apprehensive that the subject of Reformation would be mooted, and that its discussion would be prejudicial to his interests, contrived to have the Assembly transferred to *Basil*.

This event occurred in the year 1431, and may be said to have been the only transaction of consequence in which he was engaged before his death, with the exception of the negociation which he opened with the Greek Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, in order to put an end to existing differences between the two Churches.

The Pontiff did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this Assembly, being carried off by a sudden death on the 21st of February, 1431, just about the time when the Council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by Gabriel Condolmerio, a native of Venice, and Bishop of Sienna, who is known in the Papal list by the title of Eugenius IV. This Pontiff approved all the measures of his predecessor, in relation

to the assembling of the Council of Basil, which was accordingly opened on the 23rd of July, 1431, under the superintendence of Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, who performed the functions of President in the place of Eugenius. It was now manifest that the assembled fathers were in earnest, and firmly resolved to answer the end and purpose of their meeting; Eugenius, therefore, much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, determined to dissolve the Council.

The Council, however, proceeded vigorously with their measures of reform. On the 25th of March, 1436, a Confession of Faith was read, which every Pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election; it was voted that the number of Cardinals should be reduced to twenty-four; and the Papal impositions, called expectatives, reservations, and provisions, were annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked Eugenius to the highest degree, and induced him to form a design, either of removing this troublesome and enterprising Council into Italy, or of setting up a new Council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the Church; and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the Pope and the Council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear at Basil, on the 26th day of July, 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the Pontiff, instead of complying with the requisition, issued a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the Council, and to assemble another at Ferrara. This decree, indeed, was treated with the utmost contempt by the Council, which, with the consent of the Emperor, the King of France, and several other princes, continued its deliberations at Basil, and, on the 28th of September, in this same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious Pontiff, for having refused to obey their order. In the year 1438, Eugenius in person opened the Council which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara, and at the second Session thundered out an excommunication against the Fathers assembled at Basil.

Early in the year 1439, a contagious disorder breaking out at Ferrara, the Pope translated the Council to Florence, where a pretended union was effected between the Greek and

Latin Churches, which, being violently opposed at Constantinople, was rendered null and void. The Council of Florence is acknowledged by the Roman Catholics as the Seventeenth General Council. The Canon passed at the 10th Session of this Council concerning the power of the Pope is as follows: "Moreover, we define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff have a primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff himself is the successor of St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and true representative of Christ, and that he is HEAD OF THE WHOLE CHURCH, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him in St. Peter was delegated by our Lord Jesus Christ full power to feed, rule, and govern the universal Church; as also is contained in the acts of general councils, and in the holy Canons." Conc. Lab. T. xiii. p. 516.

In the meantime the Council of Basil, after declaring the superiority of Councils over the Pope to be an article of the Catholic faith, proceeded to depose Eugenius from the Papacy, as disobedient to the commands of the Church, a contemner of the Canons, a disturber of the unity of the Church, and an obstinate heretic; and they dispatched Nuncios to the different courts of the Christian Princes, to acquaint them with the measures which had been adopted. Eugenius thundered out his excommunications against the fathers at Basil, but they held his decrees in derision, and raised to the Papal throne Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who assumed the name of Felix V. This election was the occasion of the revival of that schism, which had formerly rent the Church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty. The new breach was even more extensive than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between rival Pontiffs, but also between the contending Councils of Basil and Florence. The rival Popes and rival Councils anathematized each other, laying claim to the true Apostolic powers. Eugenius was supported by France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, and England; but Felix was defended by the people of Savoy, by the Swiss, and by the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria. The German Princes chose to preserve a neutrality till the year 1447, when

they declared for Eugenius, determining that he was the only true Vicar of Christ upon earth. In the midst of the public rejoicings on this occasion, he died, in 1447, in his sixty-fourth year.

On his death Thomas de Sarzano, Bishop of Bologna, was elevated to the Pontificate, under the denomination of Nicholas V. Under this Pontificate the European Princes, and more especially the King of France, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union to the Latin Church; and their efforts were crowned with success. In the year 1449, Felix V. resigned the Papal chair, and returned to his delightful hermitage at Ripaille, while the Fathers of the Council of Basil assembled at Lausanne, ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal Church to submit to the jurisdiction of Nicholas as their lawful Pontiff. On the other hand, Nicholas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp, on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the Acts and Decrees of the Council of Basil. This Pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and sciences. He was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and, what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. In the year 1453, Nicholas received intelligence of the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. Some historians mention this fact as the greatest affliction that befel the Pope, but Gibbon thinks differently. "The Roman Pontiff," says he, "was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicholas V. had foretold their approaching ruin, and his honour seemed engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress, but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing, and Constantinople had fallen before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours." From this time he spent the remainder of

his Pontificate in endeavours to allay the civil wars and commotions which took place in Italy, to reconcile the Christian princes who were then at war with one another, and to unite them in one league against the enemies of the Christian Church. In his efforts he was completely unsuccessful, and the disappointment is said to have hastened his death, which happened in 1455, after he had completed the eighth year of his Pontificate. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who succeeded in 1458 to the Pontificate, under the title of Pius II. rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius, and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather, perhaps, of his bad faith; for after having vigorously defended, against the Pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of General Councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the Council of Basil against Eugenius IV.; he ignominiously renounced these principles upon his accession to the Pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. He, however, deplored the mistaken law which compelled the clergy to celibacy, and the wickedness, unreasonableness, and the intolerable consequences to human happiness, arising from its enactment.

The genius and learning of Æneas Sylvius would have shed a lustre over the age which gave him birth, had they continued to be employed in the sphere in which they had at first acquired for him celebrity. In his character of Ambassador from the Roman See to different Potentates, he acquired the credit of a diplomatist; but it was by his advocacy of the rights and privileges of General Councils, and his opposition to Papal encroachment and usurpation, that he rendered his name illustrious. As *Secretary* to the Council of Basil, he was the boast of literature; but as he had changed his nature with his name, he disgraced it as Pius II. No longer was his voice raised to elevate the Council above the Pope, but to recommend blind submission to his authority. It would appear

that he gloried in his inconsistency, since he even went so far as to procure a *partial* repeal of the *Pragmatic* sanction from the French monarch, which had been solely instituted with the design of curtailing the power of the Pope within the Gallican territory ; and as if to justify his base tergiversation and bad faith, he published in his Pontifical capacity a solemn retraction in the year 1463, of his defence of the Council of Basil, shamelessly declaring, that as *Æneas Sylvius* he was a *damnable heretic*, but as *Pius II.* he was an *orthodox Pontiff*.

To Pius succeeded in 1464, Paul II. of whose Pontificate, History relates nothing worthy of record. His successor in 1471, Sixtus IV. was the instigator of a conspiracy to assassinate Giuliano and Lorenzo de Medici, and to change the Government of Florence. The assassination was to take place in the principal Church where a Cardinal legate was present, and the signal for it was to be the elevation of the *Host*. Giuliano was killed on the spot ; Lorenzo was wounded by two priests, who had undertaken his murder, but escaped. The Archbishop of Pisa, who in the meantime had attempted to overpower the Magistrates, and possess himself of the Seat of Government, failed in his attempt, and was hung in his Pontifical robes from one of the windows of the Palace. For this act of justice, Sixtus excommunicated Lorenzo, and the Magistrates of Florence. The Bull issued on this occasion, has been justly designated “one of the most extraordinary specimens of priestly arrogance, that ever insulted the common sense of mankind.” The oppression, rapine, murder, and violence which render the memory of this Pope execrable, are represented by history, as of the deepest colour, and most aggravated nature. On the death of Sixtus IV. in 1484, Innocent VIII. succeeded to the Roman See. His life was of so profligate a nature, that at his exaltation he is said to have had sixteen natural children, for all of whom he amply provided out of the Revenues of the Church. In 1487, he increased by a furious Bull, the sanguinary spirit which the Inquisitor Aquapendente had excited against the Vaudois in the Valleys of Piedmont, and commissioned Albert, Archdea-

con of Cremona, as his legate, to carry his bloody purpose into effect:—"We have heard," said his Holiness, "and it has come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, inhabitants of the Province of Evreaux, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men, who are called the poor people of Lyons, or the Waldenses, who have long ago endeavoured in Piedmont, and other neighbouring parts, by the instigation of him who is the sower of evil works, through bye-ways, purposely sought out, and hidden precipices, to ensnare the sheep belonging to God, and at last to bring them to the perdition of their souls by deadly cunning, are damnably risen up under a feigned pretence of holiness, being led into a reprobate sense, and do greatly err from the way of truth, &c. We, therefore, having determined to use all our endeavours, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable sect, and the foresaid execrable errors, that they may not spread farther, and that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the Catholic Church; and to repress such undertakings,—and having special confidence in the Lord concerning your learning, &c. have thought good to constitute you at this time, for this cause of God and the faith, the nuncio commissioner of us, and of the Apostolical See, within the dominions of our beloved son, Charles, Duke of Savoy, and the Delphinat, and the cities and diocese of Vienne and Sedun, and the adjacent provinces, to the end you should induce the followers of the most wicked sect of the Waldenses, and all others polluted with any other heretical corruption whatsoever, to abjure their errors. And that you may do this so much the more easily, you may admonish and require most urgently, all archbishops and bishops seated in the Duchy, whom the Most High hath called to share with us in our cares, and command that they do assist you in the orders, and together with you proceed to the execution thereof, against the forenamed Waldenses, and all other heretics whatsoever, to rise up in arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot, as venomous adders, and bestowing all your care

towards so holy and so necessary an extermination and dispersion of the same heretics. And if you shall think it expedient, to cause, exhort, and induce all the faithful in those parts, by fit preachers of God preaching the cross or the crusade, to fight manfully against the same heretics, having taken the saving sign of the cross upon their hearts and garments; and to grant that such as are signed with the cross, and fight against the said heretics, or such as contribute thereunto, may obtain, according to your appointment, once in their life, and also at the point of death, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins."

No sooner had Albert received this infamous commission, than he proceeded with the French King's lieutenant, and a body of troops, to the valley of Loyse. Aware of his approach, the inhabitants fled to the caves at the top of the mountains, carrying with them their children, and what was thought necessary for their support. The lieutenant immediately went in search of their places of retreat, which having found, he caused great quantities of wood to be placed at the entrance of the caves, and set on fire. The consequence was, that four hundred infants were suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their also deceased mothers, while multitudes were either precipitated over the rocks and dashed in pieces, or slaughtered by the brutal soldiery. Upwards of three thousand of the inhabitants of this valley perished on that occasion, and so effectually was the work of destruction accomplished, that it was afterwards peopled with entirely new inhabitants.

Alexander VI. a Spaniard by birth, whose name was Roderic Borgia, succeeded in 1492, to the Papal Chair. The life and actions of this man, shew that there was a Nero among the Popes, as well as among the Emperors. The crimes and enormities that history has imputed to this Papal Nero, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. By Variozza, a Roman Lady, with whom he had continued an illicit connexion for many years, he had five children. His second son was Cæsar Borgia, who was a monster of debauchery and

cruelty, and who is said to have quarrelled with his elder brother for the favour of his sister Lucretia, and to have killed him, and thrown his body into the Tiber. Notwithstanding his infamous character, he was the favourite of his father, who trampled with contempt on every obstacle which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion laid in his way, in order to aggrandize his children, and enrich himself.

When Charles VIII. of France, at the suggestion of this Pope, entered Italy with the intention of seizing on the crown of Naples, he was received at Rome, on the last day of the year 1494, by Alexander, with a surly jealousy, who withdrew into the Castle of Saint Angelo, as the King entered. Four Cardinals and others vehemently exhorted Charles to depose a Pope so full of vices, and so generally disliked. Twice his artillery was planted against the castle; but Charles had no independent energy of character; and Alexander consenting to invest him with the Kingdom of Naples, the King, compromising every better principle for this insincerely offered boon, knelt and kissed his foot, and then his cheek, and received his son, the execrated Cæsar Borgia, at that time Cardinal Valentinian, as the Apostolic Legate. Amid the political changes and intrigues of the European Sovereigns, Alexander VI. and his not less profligate son, were increasing by every means of crime and policy, by fraud, vigour and talent, the temporal power of the Pontifical See. The schism occasioned by the rival Popes, and the long residence of the most recognized Pontiffs, for seventy years, at Avignon, in the fourteenth century, had greatly weakened their authority in Italy. The Magistracy and Barons of Rome had always acquired a strength and influence in that city, which curtailed the power of the reigning Pope. Boniface, by fortifying and garrisoning, in 1400, the Castle of Saint Angelo, which the Roman Citizens conceded to him, and by refusing to give back the privileges and forts which they had yielded, laid the foundation of a greater temporal sovereignty, which diminished both the religious character, and general utility of the Pontiffs. Worldly dominion and a secular kingdom, with wars and revenues to

acquire and maintain them, became afterwards their predominant desire and employment; and the most sensual luxury the characteristic of their court and city.

But before the exaltation of Alexander, the nobles and populace of Rome, who coerced the domestic power of that Papaey which was dominating abroad so assumingly, were arranged principally into two factions, the Ursini and Colonna, who, although always in arms against each other, yet kept the authority of the Pope, in his own territory, in a subordinate state. This internal weakness prevented him from becoming formidable in Italy.

At the time Charles entered the Peninsula, against Naples, Alexander was forming plans to emancipate the Papedom from its thralldom at Rome, and to establish for his son Cæsar, who had renounced the Church and his Cardinalship, to become a Duke and a soldier, a powerful principality; and this son, heedless of moral restraint, left nothing undone that ability and opportunity could perpetrate to acquire it, and to second his father's wishes to subdue the Roman Barons. To debilitate or destroy the Ursini and Colonna, as their chiefs, was their first object; and the friendship and temporary presence of Charles VIII. in Italy, facilitating their intention, Cæsar seized the favouring moment, sacked the houses of all the Colonna in Rome, killed those who resisted, levelled most of their castles in those parts, and nearly extirpated them. The Ursini had blindly contributed to the downfall of their rivals, and too late united to protect themselves. The filial Borgia, with the aid of the French, overcame them, and feigning a negotiation of peace to entrap them, got their noblest chiefs into his power at Senigaglia, and, as mercilessly as perfidiously, strangled them. He obtained, by force, the Duchy of Bologna; and both he and Alexander were by these atrocities advancing to an extensive predominance of territorial power in Italy, when, in 1503, the poison which this execrable tyrant and hypocrite and his son Cæsar had prepared for others, and particularly for Adrian, a wealthy Cardinal, who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, by a happy mistake, terminated his own days.

The universal joy of the Roman people, at the shocking catastrophe, was an expressive evidence of the nature of his Pontifical conduct. All Rome, we are told, ran with incredible joy to the dead body, hardly satiating their eyes to see destroyed a serpent, who, by his immoderate ambition, by pestilent perfidy, and every example of horrible cruelty, of monstrous sensuality, and extraordinary rapacity, and selling, unblushingly, both sacred and profane things, had poisoned the world.

Alexander being dead, and Pius III. who succeeded him, having lived but thirty days after his election, the Cardinals met again in the Conclave. And because the life and government of Alexander had given scandal to all the world, and that the Cardinals themselves had been but very ill satisfied with him, before they proceeded to an election, they drew up some articles, which every one swore to observe, upon condition, the nomination should fall upon him ; and there was one among the rest carried this with it, ‘ that the new Pope should call, at the end of two years, a General Council for the Reformation of the Church, in its creed, and its members.’ Julius the Second was chosen, but he did not believe himself bound to keep his oath ; for seven years passed away without any thing being said, either of a Council, or a Reformation. And therefore it was, that this Pope thought the less of it. Nevertheless it fell out, that having ill treated one party of the College of Cardinals, and having moreover stirred up the Emperor Maximilian, and Louis XII. the King of France, against him, those two great princes joined with the disgraced Cardinals, and called a Council at Pisa. The act of that convocation, on the part of the princes, says expressly, that it was “for the extirpation of heresies and errors, which, through the negligence of superiors, had sprung up in divers parts of the world, and particularly for the Reformation of the manners of the Universal Church, in the head and the members, and for the amendment of many great, notorious, long-continued, and almost incorrigible crimes, which had scandalized the Universal Church.” The Cardinals, also, alleged the oath, that the Pope had took, just before his promotion, in these very words,

“ I swear to observe and perform these articles throughout, and in every particular, sincerely, unfeignedly, seriously, and in good earnest, and under pain of falling under perjury and an anathema, from which I cannot absolve myself, nor give power to any other person to absolve me.” They added to this, that by another article they all, and Julius himself, had sworn that if he who should be chosen, should not perform his promise in good earnest, he should be held guilty of perjury, to be a breaker of his vow and of his faith ; a disturber of the Church, and the cause of scandal to all Christianity ; and that then two-thirds of the sacred college should have power to assemble a General Council. The Council then being assembled, declared openly, “ that there was a most evident necessity of reforming the Church, in the head, and the members ;” and made a decree, formed in these words, “ the holy, and sacred general synod of Pisa, lawfully called in the name of the Holy Ghost, composing a General Council, and representing the Catholic Church, doth define and declare, that that holy synod would not, nor could not dissolve itself, till the Universal Church should be reformed in faith and manners, as well in the head as the members, and till the heresies and schisms that had sprung up should be extinguished.” Let us remark, what was the success of so weighty a business. Julius, on his side, who, according to the general mind of the Popes, mortally hated those predispositions of a reformation, displayed all the authority, force, and artifice that he had, to elude that Council, and to turn all those projects into air. And first of all, he made void, and disannulled that convocation, that had been called ; he declared them the authors of schism and rebellion, as Dathan and Abiram, and their Council ; a conventicle of schismatics, a synagogue of satan, and a Church of malignants ; he forbid all Prelates to go thither, under pain of anathema, and excommunicated all those who should afford them any help or assistance, directly or indirectly ; and, in fine, he interdicted the towns and Churches that should receive them ; but as that way of authority alone could not produce the effect which he desired, since the world did not care always to be frightened with the Papal

thunder, so it was necessary for him further to elude that pretence of a Reformation, which those of Pisa had taken up. He then had recourse to that ordinary artifice of the Popes, which is, that when they cannot avoid a Council, they labour to make themselves masters of it, to the end that nothing may pass there, but what agrees with their interests and their desires. For this reason, he called one at Rome itself; and to make himself more sure, taking up, as well as his adversaries, that pretence of the Reformation of the Church, the better to colour his affairs; and to strengthen his party, he created some new Cardinals.

The surprise that the Papacy should have been given, with almost unanimity, to a Cardinal known to be of a nature very difficult, formidable to every one, and at all times unquiet, and who having lived in continual labours, had necessarily offended many, and become hateful to many great men, whom he as strongly disliked, had become universal. But he was very powerful as a Cardinal, surpassed all others in magnificence, and had a striking greatness of mind. He was, moreover, wealthy, and had much patronage at command, so that what chiefly secured his elevation, was his immoderate promises to Cardinals, Princes, and Barons.

Although Julius was an old man when he reached the Papal chair, he had grown old as Cardinal Saint Peter ad Vincula, amid the bustling affairs of the busy and great world. Christianity was his profession, but it extended little farther than his dress and ceremonial conduct. His soul was that of an ambitious and enterprising politician; and his conduct as a Pope, discovered the secret idol of his heart. His plans were as large as his execution of them was impetuous, and he effected more important changes in a little time, by his daring activity and resolution, than more powerful sovereigns have been able to accomplish during an extended reign.

His greatest passion was to enlarge the territorial power of the Pope, into a great Italian sovereignty, and therefore to unite with the Church all that had been taken from it during the long wars between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, and all that could be elsewhere procured. He began his career in

1506, by attacking in person, at the head of his army, Bologna, and on its capture, expelling the Bentivoglios who had usurped it.

He next entered into a war against Venice, in conjunction with France and Spain, each engaging to share the spoil with the others. Thus it was a confederation of robbers against robbers, for the sake of new robbery, to be jointly divided among them. The French first took the field, with one of the finest armies they had ever yet raised : and on the 14th of May, 1509, before the junction of the Imperial and Papal forces, fought the decisive battle of Agnadell, in which they attained such a decisive victory, that the territorial preponderance of Venice in Italy was for ever extinguished. Venice never after regained her former renown, nor recovered from this disaster. Henceforth, she sank gradually into a secondary state. Julius alarmed at the power of France in Italy, and dreading the hostility of the combined powers against himself, began immediate plans to disunite them. Nothing could exceed the indignation which pervaded the French Court at the tergiversation and faithless conduct of the pugnacious and domineering Pontiff. But this active and contriving man, who was as able a warrior and statesman, as he was the entire contrast of a Christian Pontiff, induced England* and Spain to support him. France now assembled the Council of Pisa, in 1511, to provide due reformation for the mischiefs and evils which were embarrassing the Catholic Church. Against this Council, Julius inveighed bitterly, and summoned that of Lateran in opposition, in which the Decrees of the Council of

* Henry VIII. was first tempted by the Golden Rose sent by the unsleeping Julius, with a letter stating that it had been blessed by his hands, sprinkled with odoriferous musk, and anointed with holy oil ; he, however, did not immediately fulfil the Pontiff's wishes, but sent Archbishop Bambridge to Rome to procure, if possible, a general pacification. The five Cardinals who conducted the Council of Pisa against Julius, wrote to Henry from Paris, seeking to draw him into their measures ; but their urgency did not govern his decision. He gradually inclined towards the Pope ; for though he could not respect the character of Julius, he yet revered the Roman Pontiff. A Prelate was, therefore, sent to represent England at the Lateran Council, then sitting. At the close of 1512, Henry fully acceded to the Papal confederation.

Pisa were condemned and annulled, in the most injurious and insulting terms. Attempting to regain Bologna, which had been wrested from him, he lost the murderous battle of Ravenna, hazarded for its relief. The Cardinals now crowded round the Pope, to urge him to peace, but he resolved rather to abandon Rome than his warfare.* His unceasing exertions and combinations, gradually compelled the French to retire out of Italy; he lived to know of their retreat, and died full of violent and ambitious projects, February 21st, 1513.

To the odious list of vices with which he dishonoured the Pontificate, we may add the most savage ferocity, the most audacious arrogance, the most despotic vehemence of temper, and the most extravagant and frenetic passion for war and bloodshed. Military tactics had so engrossed his time and thoughts, that his whole Pontificate may be said to have been one continued scene of warlike bustle. Under such a head the wretched state of the Church may be easily conceived: deluded as it must have been, when it acquiesced in the ordinances of a man, who, instead of preaching "peace on earth," breathed nothing but war and desolation. His whole Pontificate, in short, was one continued scene of military tumult; nor did he ever suffer Europe to enjoy a moment's tranquillity as long as he lived.†

* The Popes had, at this time, imbibed the idea that if their temporal power should not be sufficient to uphold them in their contests with the secular powers of Europe, that the respect paid to their spiritual dignity would enable them to extricate themselves with facility and with honour. This observation is remarkably illustrated by the manner in which Louis XII. of France undertook and maintained the war against Julius. He solemnly consulted the Clergy of France, whether it was lawful to take arms against a Pope who had wantonly kindled war in Europe, and whom neither the faith of treaties, nor gratitude for favours received, nor the decorum of his character, could restrain from the most violent actions to which the lust of power prompts ambitious princes. Though his Clergy authorized the war, yet Anne of Bretagne, his Queen, doubted its lawfulness. The King himself, from some superstitious scruples of the same kind, carried it on faintly; and upon every fresh instance of success, renewed his propositions for peace.

† The state of morals at this time, may be inferred from the fact that in the Council of Lateran, held under this Pope, it is declared, that

"Oppression, rapine, adultery, incest, and all pestilential vices, did con-

The long and scandalous schism which divided the Church during the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of

found all sacred and profane things, and that the same beat Saint Peter's ship so impetuously, that it was almost drowned."

"What may we think," said Platina, "will become of our age, wherein our sins are grown so great, that they have scarce left us any room with God to obtain mercy. How great the covetousness of the Priests is, and especially of such as rule among them; how great the lusts of all sects; what ambition, pomp, pride; what ignorance both of themselves and Christian doctrine; what little religion, and that but hypocritical rather than true; what corrupt manners, to be detested even in lay people, I need not say; when they sin so openly and publicly, as if they sought for commendation thereby."

"The Church is now become a Shop of Merchandize, or rather of robbery and rapine; in which all the sacraments are exposed to sale; and, therefore, you see such men admitted to the Priesthood and other Holy Orders, who are idiots, unlearned, and scarce able to read, though waywardly, and without understanding one syllable after another, who know no more of Latin than they do of Arabic; who, when they read, pray, or sing, know not whether they bless God, or blaspheme him—Men undisciplined, unquiet, gluttons, drunkards, praters, vagabonds, lustful, bred up in luxury, and in one word, idle and ignorant." See Nic. de Clemangis's Book of Simoniackal Prelates, c. 1.

In his Book of the Corrupt State of the Church, he taxes the Cardinals with avarice, uncleanness, simony, and other vices. He says,

"That by their means it came to pass, that no man learned in the Scriptures; no honest, just, and virtuous persons were advanced to high dignities; but only ambitious persons, flatterers, buffoons, and men corrupted with all vices; so that they were wholly unlearned, or, if they knew something of the Imperial Laws, or gainful sciences, they never thought of God's Law, or of the Spiritual learning, in which the people were to be instructed to life eternal—that if any person happened to condemn their covetousness and injustice, if he endeavoured by wholesome exhortations, and by preaching to gain souls, if he meditated more on the laws of God than those of men, presently every man's teeth were whet against him, and ready to bite him; and they proclaimed him a fool, and one unworthy of the priesthood. So that now, saith he, the study of the scriptures, and the professors of divinity, are become ridiculous to all men."

Of the Bishops:

"That in most dioceses, the rectors or the parish priests paid them a certain price for keeping * * * * *—that no man was admitted into the Clergy or Sacred Orders, or any Ecclesiastical Degree, without rewards, which, saith he, is intolerable; that being youths without beards, and scarce got from under the ferula, they obtained a Bishoprick, knowing as little of that office, as of the mariner's vocation; that by their filthy examples, they led their flocks into bye-ways, which tended to their ruin."—Cap. 11, 12, 13.

the fifteenth centuries, had a great effect in diminishing the veneration with which the world had been accustomed to view the Papal Dignity. Two or three contending Pontiffs roaming about Europe at a time, fawning on the Princes whom they wanted to gain; extorting large sums of money from the countries which acknowledged their authority; excommunicating their rivals, and cursing those who adhered to them; discredited their pretensions to infallibility, and exposed both their persons and their office to contempt. The Laity, to whom all parties appealed, came to learn that some right of private judgment belonged to them, and acquired the exercise of it so far, as to chuse among these infallible guides whom they would please to follow. The proceedings of the Councils of Constance and Basil, spread this disrespect for the Romish See still wider, and by their bold exertion of authority, in deposing and electing Popes, taught men that there was in the Church a jurisdiction superior even to the Papal power, which they had long believed to be supreme.

The wound given on that occasion to the Papal authority, was scarcely healed up, when the Pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II. both able princes, but detestable ecclesiastics, raised new scandal in Christendom: the profligate morals of the former in private life; the fraud, the injustice and cruelty of his public administration, place him on a level with those tyrants whose deeds are the greatest reproach to human nature; and the latter, though a stranger to the odious passions which prompted his predecessor to commit so many unnatural crimes, was under the dominion of a restless and ungovernable ambition, that scorned all considerations of gratitude, of decency, or of justice, when they obstructed the execution of his schemes. It was hardly possible to be firmly persuaded, that the infallible knowledge of a religion, whose chief precepts are purity and humility, was deposited in the breasts of the profligate Alexander, or the overbearing Julius. The opinion of those who exalted the authority of a Council above that of the Pope, spread wonderfully under their Pontificates, especially as the Emperor and French Kings who were alternately engaged in hostilities with those active Pontiffs,

permitted and even encouraged their subjects to expose their vices, with all the violence of invective, and all the petulance of ridicule.

Leo X. of the family of Medicis, now succeeded to the Papal throne. His time was divided between conversation with men of letters, and pleasure; though the greatest part of it was consecrated to the latter. He had an invincible aversion to whatever was accompanied with solicitude and care, and discovered the greatest impatience under events of that nature. He did not, however, lose sight of the grand object which the generality of his predecessors had so much at heart, that of promoting and advancing the opulence and grandeur of the Roman See; for he took the utmost care that nothing should be transacted in the Lateran Council, which Julius had assembled and left sitting, that had the least tendency to favour the Reformation of the Church. He went still farther; and, in a conference which he had with Francis I. King of France, at Bologna, he engaged that monarch to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, which had been so long odious to the Popes, and to substitute in its place, another body of laws, more advantageous to the Papacy; which he accordingly imposed upon his subjects, under the title of the Concordat; but not without their utmost indignation and reluctance.

It was in the reign of Leo X. that those glorious events transpired, which form an era in the history of the Romish Church, and, indeed, in the annals of the world. For some time, there had been a season of comparative tranquillity, and the Roman Pontiffs thought themselves thoroughly confirmed in their arrogant assumption of power. Those dreadful commotions, which had been excited in the preceding ages by the Waldenses, Albigenses and Beghards, and more recently by the Bohemians, were entirely suppressed, and had yielded to the united powers of counsel and the sword. Such of the Waldenses as yet remained, lived contented under the difficulties of extreme poverty in the valleys of Piedmont, while the handful of Bohemians that survived the ruin of their faction, and still persevered in their opposition to the Roman yoke, had neither strength nor knowledge adequate to any

new attempt, and, therefore, instead of inspiring terror, became objects of contempt.

Thus the Popes seem to have had nothing left either to desire or fear. In Ecclesiastical matters, they possessed an authority almost without limit or dispute; and they had power to control even the destiny of kings. The long exercise of arbitrary power had brought them to dismiss every apprehension of successful resistance, to entertain no anticipation that anything could arise, by which their dominion might be abridged, or their arm restrained. Within the entrenchments of Councils, Canons, and Fathers, they imagined themselves beyond the reach of danger, and, therefore, treated with indifference or contempt, the invectives and threats of their enemies; especially as they had the power to punish the obstinate, or by rewards to gain over the mercenary to their interest.

We must not, however, conclude from this apparent tranquillity and security of the Pontiffs and their adherents, that their measures were applauded, or that their chains were worn without reluctance; for not only private persons, but also the most powerful princes and sovereign states, exclaimed loudly against the despotic dominion of the Pontiffs, the fraud, violence, avarice, and injustice that prevailed in their Councils; the arrogance, tyranny, and extortion of their Legates; the unbridled licentiousness and enormous crimes of the Clergy and Monks of all denominations; the inordinate severity and partiality of the Roman laws; and demanded publicly, as their ancestors had done before them, a Reformation of the Church, in its head and in its members, and a General Council to accomplish that necessary and happy purpose. But these complaints and demands had not hitherto been carried so far as to produce any good effect,* since they came from persons

* Cassander, who had been appointed by the two Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, to endeavour to heal the breach which had taken place between the Reformed, and the Church of Rome, observes,

“ Yet I cannot deny, but that, in the beginning, many, out of a Godly zeal and care, were driven to a sharp and severe reproof of certain manifest abuses; and that the *principal cause of this calamity, distraction of the Church, is*

who did not entertain the least doubt about the supreme authority of the Pope in religious matters, and who, therefore, instead of attempting themselves to bring about that reformation which was so ardently desired, remained entirely inactive, and looked for redress to the court of Rome, or to a General Council.

If any thing seemed proper to destroy the gloomy empire of superstition, and to alarm the security of the lordly Pontiffs, it was the restoration of learning in Europe, and the number of men of genius that suddenly arose, under the benign influence of that auspicious revolution. The efforts of man cannot eternally prevail against the course of nature. A commerce with distant countries, the knowledge of a new world, had disposed men to receive new ideas. The art of printing, an incalculable advantage to the human race, and the highest which the mind ever received from industry, lately invented in Germany, on the Banks of the Rhine, multiplied knowledge to infinity, and prevented its longer concealment. This happy revolution in the republic of letters dispelled the gloom of ignorance, and kindled in the minds of many the love of truth and sacred liberty. Erasmus and other great men pointed the delicacy of their wit, or levelled the fury of their indignation, at the superstitions of the times, the corruptions of the priesthood, the abuses that reigned in the Court of Rome, and the brutish manners of the monastic orders.

Reuchlin, a philologist and very learned writer, excited in Germany an enthusiastic eagerness for the study of languages, particularly Greek and Hebrew, for reading the sacred books

to be laid on those, which being puffed up with a vain insolent conceit of their ecclesiastical power, proudly and scornfully contemned, and rejected them, which did rightly and modestly admonish their reformation. Wherefore, my opinion is, that the Church can never hope for any firm peace, unless they make the beginning, which have given the cause of this distraction; that is, unless those which are in place of Ecclesiastical Government, will be content to remit something of their too much rigour, and yield somewhat to the peace of the Church, and hearkening unto the earnest prayers and admonitions of many godly men, will set themselves to correct manifest abuses, according to the rule of Divine Scriptures, and of the Ancient Church, from which they have swerved."—Consult. p. 56, 57.

in the original, and for the illustration of the Bible. But this was not sufficient, since none had the courage to strike at the root of the evil, to attack the Papal jurisdiction and statutes which were absurdly, yet artfully, sanctified by the title of canon law, or to call in question the ancient and most pernicious opinion, that Christ had established a Vicegerent at Rome, clothed with his supreme and unlimited authority. Entrenched within these strong holds, the Pontiffs looked upon their own authority and the peace of the Church as beyond the reach of danger, and treated with indifference the threats and invectives of their enemies.

But whilst the Popes and their partisans were thus sunk in security and ease, the whole community was dissatisfied, restless, and complaining. Princes and sovereign states were the first to exclaim against the Papal oppressions; and even among the Prelates were found a few zealous opponents of the lordly ambition of the Bishops of Rome. The wealthy were wearied by exorbitant and lawless exactions; the diligent were disgusted by the idleness of the monks and friars; while the people at large were shocked and alienated by the gross and glaring immorality of the Popish Clergy. Thus was God gradually, by the secret but effectual workings of his divine power and wisdom, preparing the hearts of men for the great event then dawning; for no Reformer, it has been well observed, can operate successfully, unless congenial ideas, or consenting sympathies are existing in those by whom he is surrounded. He rather concentrates, and personifies, what they also feel and think, than invents his proposed improvements.

The time, however, was arrived, when the Papal power was about to receive a shock, which it has not yet been able to, or ever will, recover. The unbounded profusion of Leo X. had rendered it necessary to devise means for replenishing his exhausted treasury, and one of these was the sale of indulgences.

The common ones were diminutions of enjoined penance; but the plenary ones of Leo were to convey the soul from its death bed to heaven, without the previous detention and dis-

cipline of that intermediate region, which the Papal teachers, for their own purposes, have elaborately represented to be almost as intolerable as the eternal terrors.

The commissaries appointed for this traffic in Germany, exaggerated the efficacy of their wares in such very extravagant terms, as gave great offence to the pious and thoughtful. Luther, a public preacher at Wittemberg, warmly protested against this abuse in his discourses, and in a letter addressed to the Elector of Mentz. He likewise published a set of propositions, in which he called in question the authority of the Pope to remit sins, and made some very warm strictures on this method of raising money. Luther was of humble origin; his talents alone had raised him to the situation he filled as Professor of Philosophy and Theology at the University of Wittemberg. Supported by an indefatigable zeal, by a wonderful memory, he had acquired the most perfect acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, and other ecclesiastical antiquities. In every encounter, he overwhelmed the Scholastics with his arguments and his wit, and covered their science with confusion and ridicule. His individual character,* which has had such influence on the Reformation; was energy and uprightness. Ardent and calm, high spirited, and humble, at the same time; irritable and warm in his language

* Maimbourg, a Roman Catholic Historian, states "*that he lived a moral life, and was not given in the smallest degree, to covetousness or any other vice.*" See Fry's Ch. History, p. 284. The following passage from his writings, will testify as to the moderation of Luther's principles and opinions; "we allow that in the Papacy are many good things; and all those good things we have retained. What we affirm is this; that the Popes have in many instances, corrupted the Apostolic Church; and have preferred their own laws and ordinances, to the laws and ordinances of Christ. Therefore, all that accumulated mass of human contrivances, which is of Satan's suggestion, and contributes to the destruction of the Church of God, rather than to its edification, we entirely disapprove and reject; but stop here. We would not imitate the man, who, on seeing his brother in the utmost danger of being killed by a wild boar, instantly pierced both the boar and his brother, with one thrust of his spear. Perhaps some Papists will accuse me of flattering the Pope in this instance; my answer is, if the Pope will bear such flattery as this, I will become his obedient son; I will be a good Papist; I will recant all I have said to offend him."

when provoked by injurious treatment: mild, and inimical to every species of violence in actions; jovial, open, of ready wit, and even a pleasant companion of the great; studious, sober, and a stoic in himself: courageous and disinterested, he exposed himself with tranquillity to every risk, in support of what he believed to be truth. Such a man must have been filled with indignation at the approach of the shameless Tetzels. In his various sermons, Luther exposed the abuse of a traffic in Indulgences, and the danger of believing that heaven, and the remission of all crimes, could be bought with money, while a sincere repentance, and an amended life were the only means, on man's part, of acceptance with God. Leo probably regarded theological quarrels with contempt, and from his Pontifical throne looked down upon the efforts of a German Doctor with scorn; even when his interference was deemed necessary, he was inclined to lenient measures. At length, at the express desire of the Emperor Maximilian, he summoned Luther to appear before the Court of Rome. Permission was, however, granted for the Cardinal of Gæta to hear his defence at Augsburg. Nothing satisfactory was determined, and the Pope, in 1518, published a Bull, asserting his authority to grant indulgences, which would avail both the living and the dead in purgatory. Upon this, the Reformer appealed to a General Council, and thus open war was declared, in which the abettors of Luther appeared with a strength little calculated upon by the Court of Rome.

In matters of faith, Luther recognized no authority but that of the Bible. "I care not," said he, "if a thousand Chrysostoms, a thousand Cyprians, a thousand Augustines stood up against me. And let this be my creed, I yield to no man." Uncompromising in his adherence to truth, he says, "I, Doctor Martin Luther, as to those matters, (Articles of Faith) am, and wish to be deemed, obstinate, contumacious and violent."

Thus began the Reformation. It found a multitude of minds prepared to receive it, and also some enlightened and eloquent men disposed to become its apostles. The learned and moderate Melancthon, and the hasty Carlstadt, both at Wittemberg;

in Switzerland, Zwingli; and in France, Calvin, all contributed to the great work of Reform.

Leo X. engaged all the force of the pen as well as of power, to impede the progress of the Reformation; but in the midst of these efforts, the Pope was seized with an illness, which, at first, was considered as a slight cold only, but which put an end to his life in a few days. This event happened on the 1st of December, 1521, when Leo was in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the ninth of his Pontificate. And here it seems proper to suspend the progress of our narrative, and to turn aside for a season, to the more particular consideration of those events, by which this, and succeeding Pontificates have chiefly been distinguished.

END OF VOL. I.

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